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Portrait of Father Junípero Serra.

From the painting in the Museo Nacional, Mexico.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS
OF
NEW CALIFORNIA

BY

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TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH
FROM THE MANUSCRIPT IN THE ARCHIVES OF MEXICO

EDITED BY

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PART TWO

MEMOIRS OF NEW CALIFORNIA

EXPEDITIONS MADE FOR THE CONQUEST OF MONTEREY, THEIR RESULTS, AND THE FOUNDING OF THE FIRST FIVE MISSIONS

INTRODUCTION

At the time when his Excellency, the Marquis de Croix, viceroy and captain-general of New Spain, received the royal order from his Majesty (God save him), to put into effect the expulsion of the reverend fathers of the Company of Jesus from all the provinces of New Spain, the Peninsula of California, which was one of them, was in possession of those missionary fathers, who had administered it since the seventeenth century immediately preceding. On account of the wide separation of the Peninsula from New Spain and the lack of commerce with its natives and inhabitants, he was without information of its condition; and because its outer coasts were on the South or Pacific Sea it was liable to be invaded by the Russians, who had made several attempts upon those coasts. He therefore decided to send to that Peninsula a political and military governor. His object was that, after the expulsion of the fathers should be accomplished, he might keep it under obedience to our Catholic monarch, preserve it in peace, and observe the greatest vigilance on its coasts, besides sending information of any event that might occur. For this position he named the

captain of dragoons, Don Gaspar de Portolá, who embarked with a detachment of twenty-five soldiers from his regiment with a color-sergeant, and another of miquelets with their lieutenant, all under his command, for any event that might occur.

Not being satisfied with this measure, the vigilant zeal of this most excellent viceroy took the precaution to send experts to California to devote themselves solely to examining all the explored part of the Peninsula, in order to inform him of the state of the missions established in it by the Jesuit fathers, the number of natives in them, their characteristics, customs, and mode of living, and of the fruits of the land; what settlements of Spaniards and other civilized people had been established, and especially the nature of its coasts, ports, and seas. The Marquis desired, by virtue of truthful reports, to give the orders and take the measures conducive to the promotion of the missions and settlements, which he regarded as an efficacious means of putting the Peninsula in a state of defense against any attack or invasion by enemies.

Knowing that for the successful outcome of the measures these reports were first necessary; that they should be made by persons of intelligence and zealous for the welfare of the crown and the nation, as well as for the interest of the royal patrimony, so that expenses might not be

unnecessarily increased; and that upon the choice of these persons depended all the success of a very important matter, he consulted the visitor-general, Don José de Gálvez, who had volunteered to go personally with the troops to the province of Sonora to pacify the rebellious Indians in the Cerro Prieto. As soon as this zealous minister heard of the plan of his Excellency, he gladly offered to go also to California, in order to inform him fully of many things that he judged to be equally as opportune and important to the royal service, or even more so, than the pacification of Cerro Prieto, for which he had previously volunteered. His Excellency accepted the offer and delegated to him all his authority, in military as well as in political affairs, so that in case of necessity he might take the required measures. The illustrious visitor-general then made ready for his voyage, leaving Mexico in April, 1768.

Before he arrived at the port of San Blas the visitor-general received papers from Mexico, in which the viceroy enclosed an order which he had just received from the Court. In it his Majesty charged him to be careful and vigilant in guarding the coasts of California, on account of the Russians, who had just made an attempt, and told him that, in order to check any design of theirs upon the province, he must try to settle the famous port of Monterey, or at least, for the present, that of San Diego. On account of this

order, which he enclosed, his Excellency charged the visitor-general anew in regard to this matter, so important to the crown of our king. He added at the same time that he was leaving in the hands of the illustrious visitor-general, and to his discretion, the adoption of any means that he might judge most opportune for realizing the desired purpose of his Majesty.

In view of these superior orders and of the earnestness with which his Majesty desired to protect the ports of Monterey and San Diego, to make the exterior coasts of California safe, and prevent the Russians or any other nation from thrusting themselves in there, the high understanding of the visitor-general decided to make two expeditions. One, by sea, was to set out from the port of La Paz in the Peninsula of California, and the other, by land, was to start from the royal presidio of Loreto. The two expeditions were to unite at the port of San Diego, and after settling this place both were to go on to occupy the harbor of Monterey.[1]

For the sea expedition he had only the two packets which had just been constructed, one named the *San Carlos* and the other the *San Antonio,* alias *El Príncipe,* and which were at that time occupied in transporting troops who were going to subdue the rebellious Indians in Sonora. For the land expedition he had in California only the company of leather-jacket soldiers. Knowing

the importance of haste in such matters, in order to lose no time he left orders to the commandant of San Blas that as soon as the packets should arrive he should repair them, if he judged it necessary, and provision and load them with everything required for the undertaking. He ordered him at the same time, after all these things and anything else that he might think proper were ready, to despatch them to the port of La Paz, in California, where he would await them and send them off.

These measures concluded, his Illustrious Lordship departed from the port of San Blas, embarking in the sloop named the *Sinaloa* on the 24th of May of the same year, although the unfavorable weather did not permit him to reach California before the 6th of July. In the meantime, until the arrival of the packets, which were delayed more than ordinarily by the bad weather, his Lordship employed himself in obtaining information of the state of the Peninsula, its missions and natives, and in taking measures that he thought best for the good of the land, as I said in Part One. The expeditions absorbed all his attention, and in order that on the arrival of the ships in California there might be no delay in the departure, either by sea or by land, he took vigorous measures, so that everything going with the sea expedition might be made ready in the port of La Paz, and that everything

going with the land party might be transported to the last mission on the northern frontier of California, named Santa María.

To head the sea expedition he appointed Don Vicente Vila, pilot of his Majesty's fleet, and as second-in-command Don Juan Pérez, experienced pilot of these seas, who had made several voyages in the Philippine ship. The latter was named captain of the packet *San Antonio* alias *El Príncipe,* and the former, captain of the *San Carlos,* which went as flagship.[2]

For the land expedition he named as commander-in-chief Governor Don Gaspar de Portolá, who voluntarily offered to go on this undertaking, and as second-in-command Don Fernando Rivera y Moncada, captain of the Leather-jacket Company of the royal presidio of Loreto, giving both the necessary instructions for everything.[3] He arranged that the land expedition should go in two sections. The captain was to go with the first, with all the soldiers and men that he might think necessary, and the governor was to set out later with the second division, the mission of Santa María being designated as the point of departure for the people who were to go by land.

He appointed the captain as commissary, so that he might recruit the men and name those who were to accompany the expedition, since he was experienced in the Peninsula. He charged him also to go north as soon as possible, from

mission to mission, and take from them all the mules, for saddle and pack, and all the horses and cattle that he might think required for the journey, as also the fruits, meat, corn, and other things that might be needed for the land expedition, leaving in each mission a receipt for all that he took in order that it might be paid for. He charged him to be as prompt as possible in getting all necessaries ready on the frontier at Santa María, so that as soon as he should send him the order he might set out for the port of San Diego. It was arranged that the sea expedition should carry orders to wait twenty days at that port for the land party, and then, if the latter did not arrive, to go on to the port of Monterey, since if the land expedition were delayed great difficulties might result. In the month of August the captain set forth with these commissions from the camp of Santa Ana, and carried out in all the missions the measures ordered by his Illustrious Lordship, taking from them everything that is stated in Part One.

In October the Reverend Father Fray Junípero Serra went to the camp of Santa Ana to consult with his Lordship in regard to the missions that were to be founded, and the number of friars that were to go with the expeditions. They agreed that three should go with the sea expedition, and three more with the land party, and that for the present three missions should be founded, one at San Diego, another at

San Carlos on the harbor of Monterey, and the third in the intervening space between the harbors of San Diego and Monterey. It was also decided that another should be founded at the site of Vellicatá, eighteen leagues beyond Santa María on the road to San Diego, as this was the most convenient place to keep the provisions for those missions which would be sent by sea from the royal presidio of Loreto to the bay of San Luís, unless it should turn out that the mission of Santa María was not a suitable spot for maintaining itself, in which case it should be moved to the site of Vellicatá. And thus they conferred about the manner of sending the expeditions, the method to be observed in the foundings, and whatever else might come up.

His Lordship gave Father Serra the memorandum of the vestments, sacred vessels, and utensils of church and sacristy which he had collected from the two extinguished missions, and of what he had taken from the missions of Todos Santos and Loreto. He charged him, when he should go from Loreto to Santa María to join the expedition, to visit the sacristies of the missions, take from them whatever could be spared, and carry it with him for the new missions. Everything taken from them and collected by the visitor-general, which he sent with the ships, is listed in the second part of the chapter. His business concluded, Father Serra set out for Loreto, where he arrived in the latter part of

January, carrying letters for the governor in which his Lordship told him to get ready to march, as soon as he received the order, with the second division by land.[4]

While these measures were being taken, the visitor-general was preparing at the port of La Paz the cargo that was to be taken by the two packets mentioned for the sea expedition, and also that to be carried to San Diego for the two expeditions, by sea and by land, which were to go to look for the port of Monterey. For this purpose he gave orders to butcher as occasion demanded some of the wild cattle in the south of California, so that they might take enough meat. The captain was charged to do the same thing in the northern missions, to provide the meat necessary for the land expeditions as far as San Diego, where they would find the provisions which the ships would carry for all. In the meantime the division of troops which the illustrious visitor had asked from the commandant of Guaymas, Don Domingo Elizondo, arrived at La Paz. It was composed of twenty-five men of the Free Company of Catalonian Volunteers, commanded by their lieutenant, Don Pedro Fages. It was to go by sea, for service in case they might have to use force if they met with opposition or resistance to the landing at the port of San Diego, Monterey, or any other place where necessity or accident might compel them to go ashore.

The arrival of the two packets was delayed longer than usual, and his Illustrious Lordship was now awaiting them with impatience, for fear that the advantages of good weather and favorable season for the projected voyage might be lost. The first, the *San Carlos,* arrived at the port of La Paz in the early part of December, after a toilsome voyage, in which, through battling and struggling against the winds, it was damaged in the riggings, and it reached port taking in water. This misfortune compelled his Illustrious Lordship to order the ship unloaded and careened again, at which he was present himself. As soon as the careening was finished he ordered it loaded once more with the cargo which it had brought from the port of San Blas, as well as with the other things that he had prepared, so that it might set sail at once without waiting for *El Príncipe,* which was late and supposedly would have to go through the same performance, which in fact happened. For this reason they could not set out together, as had been decided upon. The visitor was moved to this change of plan by the consideration that the first division of the expedition, according to the orders he had sent, might have left the Santa María frontier, and if it arrived at the port of San Diego ahead of the ships some misfortune might happen. The zeal of his Illustrious Lordship vigilantly watched over the provisions for both expeditions.

CHAPTER I

THE PACKET *SAN CARLOS* SAILS FOR THE HARBOR OF SAN DIEGO

Everything being ready for the voyage of this packet, which was going as flagship, his Illustrious Lordship set January 9, 1769, for the departure. On that day all prepared themselves with the holy sacraments of confession and communion. After the conclusion of the Mass, all of those who were to sail being assembled, his Lordship made them a wise and tender speech, charging them with the affair in the name of God and the king and of their viceroy in New Spain. He said that he was sending them to raise among the heathen of San Diego and Monterey the standard of the Holy Cross, and that in order to facilitate and secure the desired end, he charged them to observe peace and harmony among themselves and obedience and respect to their superiors, especially to the missionary father, Fray Hernando Parrón, who was going for the consolation of everybody, and that they should heed him, love him, and respect him.

This tender exhortation finished, they made their farewells, and the missionary father

received the blessing of the reverend father president, who was present and pronounced a benediction on the ship and banners. Then he embarked in company with sea commander Don Vicente Vila, noted pilot and captain of the packet *San Carlos.* There went also the lieutenant of the volunteers, Don Pedro Fages, and his twenty-five soldiers; Don Miguel Constanzó, color-sergeant of engineers and cosmographer, to mark and map the ports and lands that might be discovered, and at the port of Monterey to lay out the royal presidio that was to be founded; and Don Pedro Prat, skilled surgeon of the royal armies of his Majesty, who went for whatever might come up. They weighed anchor on the 9th of January, sailing from La Paz for Cape San Lucas, whence they were to start on the voyage to the port of San Diego.

On the same day and at the same time the visitor-general embarked on the *Concepción* for Cape San Lucas, for, having learned that the second packet could not round El Pulmo, he decided that it should go to the Cape, and that he would despatch it from there. In this way his Illustrious Lordship had the opportunity to accompany the first ship of the sea expedition as far as Cape San Lucas. He could not go on to Monterey as he desired, according to what he wrote me from La Paz on the same day, the 9th of January, but he had the pleasure of seeing

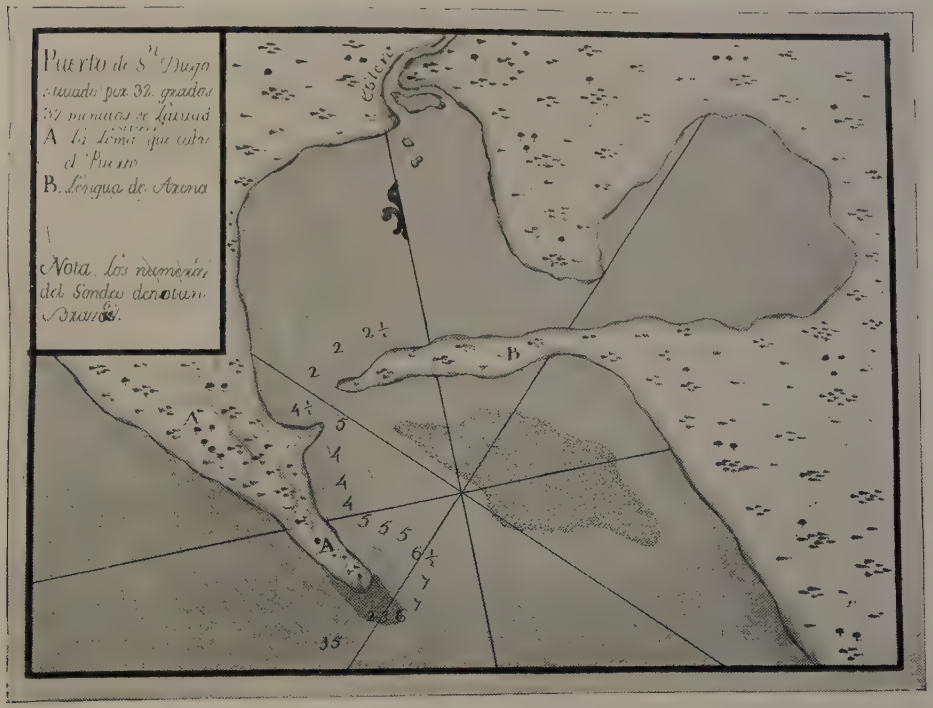
the *Concepción* cruise with a favorable wind and arrive off Cape San Lucas on the 11th of the same month of January.

After the visitor-general finished despatching the first packet he set his hand to the second, the *San Antonio,* alias *El Príncipe,* which was to follow it. It arrived at Cape San Lucas in almost the same condition as the first, so that it was necessary to unload it and examine the seams, through which water was leaking. After it was loaded and everything necessary was prepared for the voyage, his Lordship with excellent judgment designated the 15th of February as the day for the departure; for, as this is the day of the translation of San Antonio de Pádua, it could be confidently assured that this saint would transport his ship in all safety to the desired port.

CHAPTER II

THE PACKET *SAN ANTONIO*, ALIAS *EL PRÍNCIPE*, LEAVES CAPE SAN LUCAS; ITS VOYAGE AND ARRIVAL AT THE HARBOR OF SAN DIEGO

The illustrious visitor-general, wishing to realize his desire for the safe arrival of the entire expedition by sea at the coveted ports of San Diego and Monterey, took on himself the measures to accomplish it. Since the best means was to offer the soul and prayers to God and to the patron whom he had chosen for both expeditions, the Most Holy Patriarch San José, in a circular letter he charged and begged all the missionaries to pray God for the success of the expeditions; and he ordered them very especially to sing on the 19th day of each month a solemn Mass to that most holy patriarch, patron of the expeditions, concluding it with the litany of the saints as a supplication.[5] He ordered those who were to embark on this second expedition to prepare themselves by confession and communion, as they did on the day named, the 15th, the holy sacrifice of the Mass being celebrated by the two fathers, Fray Juan Vizcaíno and Fray Francisco Gómez, who were to go in that bark. The Mass which was sung for the success



Map of San Diego Bay in 1769.

Ascribed to Vicente Vila. Original in the Archivo General de Indias.

of the voyage having been concluded, the visitor made them the same exhortation as to the first. Thus encouraged they went to embark, accompanied by the captain of the vessel, Don Juan Pérez, second-in-command by sea, the subaltern officers, and the crew, with some blacksmiths and carpenters who were going for any work that might come up at San Diego and Monterey. Sail was set and they left the port of San José del Cabo very successfully.[6]

The same good fortune accompanied them on the voyage, which lasted fifty-four days. At one of the islands of the channel of Santa Bárbara, which is populated with heathen, they took on water. As soon as the launch approached, the natives from a village near the beach came up and welcomed them with demonstrations of great joy, making them presents of fish, which they had in great abundance, and joining in to help with the water, even the women. In return the Indians were given glass beads, which they greatly prized. The missionary fathers then decided to go ashore and visit the village. They were well received by the heathen and presented with fish, in return for which the Indians were given some strings of beads. The watering finished, they returned to the ship, now late, with the determination to set sail on the following morning. In the night it was remembered that they had forgotten their staff and left it at the village. They immediately gave it up as lost,

on account of the cross that it carried, for it was of iron, and it was known how the Indians coveted this metal. But they were so honest that at daybreak it was discovered that one of the little canoes of the island was coming to the ship, and that one of the heathen was carrying in his hand the staff with the holy cross. Climbing on board, he delivered it to the father, and after being rewarded, returned to the island. For this reason it was called the island of the Holy Cross (Santa Cruz), and as such it has been known ever since.

Leaving that island, and finding themselves in latitude thirty-four degrees and forty minutes, they sailed down the coast looking for the harbor of San Diego. Arriving there, they entered safely and dropped anchor on the 11th of April, but did not find there the flagship, which had sailed more than a month ahead of them. They did not have any special[7] trouble on the voyage, except that some of the crew were attacked with scurvy, though not seriously. They landed without any interference whatever from the Indians of the harbor, though not very far from it there was a village of heathen who held little communication with them. The vessels carried orders to wait for each other or for the land expedition twenty days, and then, if within that time after their arrival the other ship or the land party did not appear, they were to set sail in search of the port of Monterey.

CHAPTER III

THE PACKET *SAN CARLOS* ARRIVES AT SAN DIEGO

The twenty days that they were to await the ship *San Carlos* and the land expedition were about to come to an end without the least news of them, or the slightest sign that they had touched at that port, making it certain that they had been delayed by some accident. They were sorry not to wait for them, for they knew how disappointed they would be. But their orders obliged them to sail from the port on the 1st of May, leaving for the land expedition a letter buried at the foot of a cross, saying that they had waited the twenty days, and, not having any news of them, had pursued their voyage to Monterey. The departure having been already settled upon for that day, it was God's will that the *San Carlos* should appear on the 29th of April, making it nineteen days that the ship *San Antonio* had been anchored. The sight of the *San Carlos* rejoiced everybody, and postponed the departure of the first vessel.

On the 30th the flagship anchored in the harbor of San Diego, having spent on the voyage

from Cape San Lucas one hundred and ten days. The captain of the *San Antonio,* seeing that the other vessel was not putting out a launch, although it was inside the port, and being fearful of some misfortune, sent out his own launch. The flagship was found to be in no less trouble than to have all its men infected with the plague, with crew, soldiers, and volunteers stricken with disease and unable to work. This was the reason why they had not put out a launch on arriving. Immediately orders were given for the crew of the *San Antonio* to go on board the flagship, carry the sick ashore, and make on the beach some tents of the sails for an infirmary. All exercised this charity and the surgeon performed his office with the highest extremes of benevolence.[8] Indeed, according to the reports of all those who composed the expedition he had no equal.

Since the bark was infected, and those on board were stricken with scurvy, with the exception of the missionary father, the captain and officers, it quickly spread to the crew of *El Príncipe,** so that in a short time nearly all the men were suffering with the disease, from which thirteen of the volunteer soldiers died. Of the crew of the *San Carlos* only five remained alive, and of the packet *San Antonio* only seven were left. Although all of those remaining were

* The *San Antonio.*

infected, it was God's will to preserve the lives of the twelve so that both barks might not be unable to leave the port.

The cause of the gravity of the sickness of the flagship's crew was thought to be the water which they had to take on at the island of Cedros. It was so bad that nothing could be cooked in it; the meat came out tougher than before it was put on the fire, and the same happened with the miniestra; and as they drank the same water, for lack of any other, those who were already ill became worse and the plague seized upon the rest. This packet did not follow the same course as the *San Antonio,* for which reason they did not meet until they entered the harbor, for although both ascended to the same latitude, the *San Antonio* followed the channel between the islands and the mainland, while the flagship sailed outside in the open sea. On account of the sickness they no longer talked of sailing to Monterey, but decided to wait for the land expedition, even though it might delay longer than the twenty days set by his Lordship.[9]

CHAPTER IV

JOURNEY OF THE FIRST DIVISION OF THE LAND EXPEDITION

I have already said in the Introduction that it was agreed between the visitor and the reverend father president that three missionaries should go with the land expedition. One of those designated was the father preacher Fray Juan Crespi, missionary minister of the mission of Purísima Concepción[10] de Cadegomó, which he had administered for eleven months. As soon as he received the order from the reverend father president to go up to Santa María and join the first division of the expedition, which was going under command of Don Fernando Rivera, captain of the Leather-jacket Company, he set out from the mission of Purísima on the 26th of February, and, by making haste on the road he arrived at Santa María on the 20th of the month of March. Finding that the captain had gone with all the rest of his followers to the place named Vellicatá, about eighteen leagues from Santa María, for the purpose of allowing the horses and mules to recuperate, as it was better provided with pasture, he went as quickly as

possible to that place, where he arrived on the 22d of the same month. He found the captain all ready to leave on the next day but one, the 24th of March. All the people were equipped and prepared for the departure, having confessed and taken communion, which the father prior Fray Fermín Lazuén went to administer, by invitation of the captain, and all the loads of provisions for the journey were in readiness. On the 23d, which fell on[11] Holy Thursday, the missionary father rested.

The expedition was composed of the captain; twenty-five leather-jacket soldiers of the Company of the Royal Presidio of Loreto; Don José Cañizares, who was going to observe the latitude, and to mark out the routes to be followed; three muleteers for the pack train; and forty-two Christian Indians, neophytes of the last three missions of California, for whatever work might come up in the way of opening roads and repairing bad passes that might be encountered on this unknown and hitherto untraveled way.[12]

On the 24th of March the expedition set out, in the name of God, from that place, but because I intend to copy the diary later on I omit it here, passing on now to the arrival at the port of San Diego, which was on the 14th of May, 1769, the first day of the Feast of Espíritu Santo.

As soon as they came in sight of the harbor and saw the two packets anchored, their joy was

so great that they expressed it with lively volleys from their guns as a salute to the sea expedition, which immediately replied with the artillery of both barks. The three fathers who were there, besides all the officers who were free from the malady of the scurvy, set out to meet them. They exchanged with one another their tales of the difficulties which they had suffered on the journey. Those who had come by sea told of the state of the crew and troops, and how many had died and the rest were very ill. Those of the land expedition explained that the governor and commander, Don Gaspar de Portolá, and the reverend father president, were coming with the second division, and on account of this information they resolved to wait until all the sick were well before going on to Monterey. In the meantime, until the arrival of the second division, the well ones employed themselves in assisting and caring for the sick, and the four missionaries in consoling them, administering the sacraments, and helping them in every way that they could and that charity dictated. There was opportunity at the same time to explore the land and examine the sites and valleys, which will be related in the diary. For the present I will go on to the journey of the second division of the land expedition.[13]

CHAPTER V

JOURNEY OF THE SECOND DIVISION OF THE LAND EXPEDITION, IN WHICH WENT THE COMMANDER AND GOVERNOR, DON GASPAR DE PORTOLÁ, AND THE REVEREND FATHER PRESIDENT, FRAY JUNÍPERO SERRA

To complete the contingent for the expedition by land his Lordship ordered that in the beginning of March the governor and commander of the Peninsula of California, Don Gaspar de Portolá, as commander-in-chief of both divisions of the land expedition, should set out from the royal presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto, with those of the designated misionaries that were left, the remainder of the soldiers, provisions, and other things necessary for such an arduous and lengthy undertaking. In obedience to this order the governor left the royal presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto with his company on the 9th of March. But, although the reverend father president Fray Junípero Serra was in a mind to start with the governor, he could not get off so soon, and so promised to do it as quickly as possible, as he afterwards did. In the meantime he designated to accompany the governor the

father preacher Fray Miguel de la Campa, minister of the mission of San Ignacio, who, as soon as that gentleman arrived at his mission, left it in charge of the father preacher Fray Juan de Medina Beitía, and joined the expedition. The party, with the father named, went on to the frontier of Santa María de los Angeles. There it was necessary for them to make a long delay to await the provisions that were coming by sea in launches from Loreto to the bay of San Lucas, and thence by mules to the frontier mission, where they had time to make up the cattle herd, and for the reverend father president to join them.

After holding a devout and solemn Holy Week, such as the Californians had never seen before; having sung the Mass on Easter and preached on that day his tender farewell sermon, an exact ecclesiastical year after he had preached the first one to them, when he took possssion of the spiritual affairs of that mission; and having celebrated in the two days following the holy sacrifice of the Mass of Nuestra Señora de Loreto, patroness of the Peninsula, to ask her protection for this difficult journey, the president set out from the royal presidio on the 28th of March, third day of the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ.[14]

On the day named, the 28th, he started, and on the same day I had the happiness of having him

at the mission of San Xavier, and of keeping him there for three days, for in order that I might inform myself of everything connected with those missions some delay was necessary to discuss and confer about what pertained to the welfare of the missions of California, which, in his absence, remained in my charge by decision of our College. He visited the church and sacristy, and set aside what he thought was not needed, so that it might be sent to the port of San Diego for the missions, together with the things that he would set aside from the other missions, and that in passing he would order the ministers to send to me.

These matters concluded, he said farewell, causing me equal pain for the love that I felt for him and for the tenderness that I had been owing him since the year 1740, when he began to be my teacher of philosophy. Since then we had almost always lived together, except when duty parted us, which was seldom and only for a short time. From this it may be inferred what reciprocal love there would be between teacher and pupil, and what sorrow that farewell would consequently cause us both, for we feared that we would not see each other again except in heaven. Indeed, up to the present time, when I am writing this, we have not met again, for when I arrived at this mission of Monterey he was in Mexico, urging measures from his Excellency for

the preservation and promotion of these missions. But I hope that very shortly his Majesty will grant me the favor of giving him a hearty embrace in this mission.

On the first day of April he left San Xavier for the mission of San José Cumundú, passing through all the missions except that of Mulegé, which is eighteen leagues off the road to those of the North. From all the missions he wrote me everything that would assist me in their administration, and told me what he had set aside from the churches for the new missions. On the 5th of May he arrived at the mission of Santa María de los Angeles, frontier of the heathen, where he found the governor and Father Fray Miguel de la Campa, with a part of the company who were to make the journey. The remainder were in Vellicatá, pasturing the horses and mules, for there was pasture there, which was lacking at Santa María. The transportation from the bay of San Lucas of the loads of provisions for the journey had not yet been concluded, for which reason they were obliged to remain some days longer.

These days were employed in examining all the sites in the neighborhood of the Santa María, for the purpose of deciding whether it should be continued in that place or moved to Vellicatá, a matter which had been left by his Lordship to the judgment of the governor and the

reverend father president. After making themselves acquainted with the sites, and with the need of occupying Santa María because of its nearness to the beach and bay of San Luís, in order to receive and take care of the provisions, since it was necessary to go up by sea to that bay for the new reductions, they were of the opinion that the mission should continue at Santa María, even though the number of families was small. For with what they might plant and such aid as they might receive from the others they could maintain themselves, especially if on a site so advantageous as Vellicatá another should be founded. They were in accord in this decision and informed the visitor-general and me of it. On the 11th of May[15] the governor and the fathers set out with the rest of the soldiers, arriving at Vellicatá on the 13th.

CHAPTER VI

THE MISSION OF SAN FERNANDO IS FOUNDED AT VELLICATÁ

His Illustrious Lordship had charged the reverend father president that in case the mission of Santa María could not subsist on the site of its foundation he should move it to Vellicatá, but that if they decided that it should remain, he was to found another on the latter site. As I said in the preceding chapter, they resolved to continue that of Santa María. Consequently, it was necessary to proceed to the founding of Mission Vellicatá. This place had a few little huts, made during the stay of the captain there, one of which had served as a chapel to celebrate the holy sacrifice of the Mass, and in which all those of the first division of the expedition were confessed and took communion. So, for the present there was little to do to begin the mission. On the 14th of May of that year, 1769, the Feast of Espíritu Santo was celebrated. As this was the day on which the apostles, after having received the Holy Ghost, set out through the city to preach the Gospel, thus making a beginning of the law of grace,

the reverend father president thought it a very suitable day for the founding of this first mission. For this purpose the little hut was cleaned up as well as possible. They prepared the altar, and the reverend father president celebrated on it the sacrifice of the Mass, all those in the company of the expedition being present. The soldiers, wearing their leather jackets and carrying their shields and arms in their hands, discharged their pieces during the time that the holy sacrifice of the Mass lasted. This concluded, the *Veni Creator Spiritus* was sung, and when that was finished the standard of the Holy Cross was raised.[16]

This mission, the first one founded in these provinces, and the first fruit of our apostolic College, he dedicated to the holy patron, San Fernando, king of Castile, naming as its first missionary the father preacher Fray Miguel de La Campa, who gladly received this charge with the hope of converting the many heathen who lived in the vicinity, as the soldiers assured him. The governor delivered to him a fifth of the cattle which the captain had taken from the mission of San Borja for the endowment of the new missions, as the visitor-general had ordered; and according to the distribution the share of this first mission was forty-six head—ten calves and the rest full grown cattle. They also left him forty bushels of corn, one tierce of flour, one

load of biscuit, a little chocolate and a little meat, besides a few figs, raisins, and grapes for the purpose of getting into the good graces of the Indians. This supply was to serve him for the present until more provisions should be sent him from Loreto, which I endeavored to forward as soon as information reached me of that founding. The governor left him as escort only five soldiers, because of the lack of them on account of the expeditions, although a little later I asked the temporary governor who remained in Loreto to send him more.

On the day following the founding of the mission a band of twelve heathen came up. The reverend father president, who had not yet left, Father Campa, the governor, and the soldiers, made them gifts to attract them to the mission; and through the interpreter the reverend father president told them that the father called Miguel would stay there; and that they and their heathen friends should come to visit him. He told them to tell their friends that they need have no fear or suspicion, for the father would be a good friend to them; and that the soldiers who were staying there with the father would do them much good, and would not harm them in any way, for they did not come to take their land from them, nor their wives, but only to teach them, so that by being Christians they might be saved. He urged them not to harm or steal any of the cattle

that were ranging in the country, but if they were in need to come and ask the father and he would always give them what he could. They listened to these and other words very attentively, and gave signs of agreeing to it all, so that it was believed they would soon fall into the apostolic and evangelic net, as indeed happened, for on the 18th day of the same month of May the missionary father had under instruction forty-four heathen, counting men and women, boys and girls. In a short time he instructed and baptized them and with these a beginning was made of that mission.

This missionary father found himself, as soon as the expedition started, in the unhappy condition of being entirely alone among all the heathen, the missionary nearest to him being at the mission of San Borja, which was about sixty leagues distánt, the whole way populated with heathen only. And he also had the duty of ministering to the Indians of Santa María, which was left without a minister for lack of missionaries; but the fervor, zeal, and strength of Father Campa endured everything, and he took the trouble to go for companionship as far as the mission of San Borja, or at least half way on the road between the two missions, where he and Father Lazuén, missionary of San Borja, were in the habit of meeting now and then to comfort each other, to talk together, and to dispel

loneliness. To these labors were added the frequent journeys to the villages in the hills of Santa María, to visit and confess the sick Christians, and to the villages of heathen with the object of attracting them to the new mission of San Fernando.

He decided, with his apostolic zeal and great experience in missions to the heathen, to place permanently in the mission of Santa María a trustworthy soldier with a small number of Christian Indians, to guard these missions and take care of the small fields planted in wheat which he made in those places, and that all the rest of the Indians should go to Vellicatá. In this way he was able to have them at Mass and catechism every day, and to have their help in starting the mission of San Fernando, an ingenious plan, by which in a short time he had a dam made in the arroyo to water the lands that he immediately opened and planted. He succeeded in harvesting enough corn and wheat to supply not only the people at Santa María, but also the new Christians of Vellicatá, and the heathen whom he usually had under instruction, for it was necessary to support them. He succeeded also, through the example of those of Santa María, in disposing the new Christians to work. In this way he was able to build the church and dwelling of adobes, and to advance the mission, putting it in the short term of three years in the

same running order as the old ones of California; and on its delivery to the Dominican fathers after four years from its beginning it was found very well advanced, as is set forth in Part One of this history. Father Campa remained alone, without any companions at all, from its founding until the month of January, 1771, when I sent him two of the new missionaries who came, one as companion for him, and the other to minister to and care for the people of Santa María.

I have decided before relating the journey of the second division of the expedition, to note down not only what is said in this chapter, but also to narrate in the following what happened to the third packet, which went with aid for San Diego.

CHAPTER VII

THE THIRD BARK LEAVES WITH PROVISIONS FOR THE HARBOR OF SAN DIEGO

The illustrious visitor-general, with his great zeal for this important undertaking and his desire that nothing should be lacking to those who composed both expeditions, not content with the abundance of provisions that the first two vessels had carried, decided that another supply of food should go, and that after unloading at San Diego the bark should remain in that port, while one of the first should return to San Blas to make another voyage, the plan being that one of the barks should be always anchored at San Diego for whatever might happen, and that two of them should be employed in going and coming between the new ports and that of San Blas, so as to keep them provisioned. With this in view he had ordered a smaller ship built at San Blas. When it was finished they sent it to Cape San Lucas, but, although it had just been built, he learned that it was leaking a little, so he ordered it careened and examined anew, to his satisfaction, and upon its conclusion to go on to La Paz, for he desired to go in it to Loreto. This was

done, the plan being that he should go with it to the bay of Santa Bárbara, of the pueblo of Santa Cruz,* and that he should send it to Loreto to be loaded with meat, fish and other things that had been prepared.

His Illustrious Lordship, Don José de Gálvez, wished to have the christening of the packet with the oath of the banners, and it was pronounced on the first of May, after I sang the Mass on board the bark, with the assistance of two other missionaries who were at that time in Loreto. In this function the illustrious visitor set an example to all by taking communion. He wished the bark to be called *San José* in honor of his most holy patriarch, patron of the expeditions. It set sail the same day, convoyed by the sloop, for the port of Santa Cruz, whence he sent it back loaded with corn, beans, and chick peas. At Loreto the cargo was completed with four hundred arrobas of dried meat, some more of fish, fifty arrobas of figs and raisins, ten jars, two of brandy and the rest of wine, and some bales of coarse clothing, so that they might have something with which to make gifts to the Indians. I also put on it three steeple bells for the new missions, and all the vestments which, by order of the reverend father president, they had sent to me at Loreto from all the old missions of the north, as has been related in Part One.

* On the coast of Sonora.

On the 16th of June, about midday, the *San José* set sail in the roadstead of Loreto, and on that same day it was lost from sight. Hearing no news of it, we concluded that it had passed without touching at Cape San Lucas, although it appeared to me that it must touch there because it was to receive more cargo of vestments and utensils for church and sacristy, which, by order of his Lordship, had been sent from Guadalaxara by the factor of the royal funds of that city, Don José de Trigo, and also because the father preacher Fray José Murguía was to embark on it, as he was destined for one of the new missions. Not receiving any news at all of its arrival in any port, we took it for certain that it must have had a favorable wind which did not allow it to touch anywhere, and that it must now be in San Diego; but it was so much the contrary that after an absence of three months it dropped anchor in the port of Escondido with the foremast broken, the captain saying that in the three months' sailing he could not even reach La Paz.

A launch was immediately despatched to Sonora to carry the information to the visitor-general, who was at the camp of Los Alamos. He ordered the cargo taken in launches to Cape San Lucas, and that the packet should go to San Blas, as soon as the equinox should be past, so that it might be repaired, and that afterwards it should return and receive the cargo and continue

its voyage. This was done in the latter part of October, when it left Loreto, and the cargo was sent by launches to the Cape, except the maize, which was left behind, since at San Blas a load of newer maize could be taken on. I also took out the chest in which all the vestments were going and sent them to the new mission of San Fernando Vellicatá, since it had none but those of Santa María, and in this way the missionary father was supplied.

As soon as the packet was repaired at San Blas it sailed with a load of maize and beans for Cape San Lucas, where it took on the rest of the cargo; and in the month of May, 1770, it set sail for the port of San Diego, where, up to the present time, it has not arrived, nor has there been any news of it, nor has any fragment of it been seen on any of the coasts. It is believed that it must have been lost out in the open sea and with it many people, for it carried an extra crew to replace those who had died on the other packets. It was God's will that Father Murguía, who was to have sailed on it, was not in southern California, for, he having become ill, as I said in Part One, and not yet being completely well, I called him to Loreto, so that when he should recover he might go by land to the new missions.

The loss of that bark has been a great setback to the new conquests, and was the cause of the privations from which the expeditions suffered.

CHAPTER VIII

JOURNEY OF THE SECOND DIVISION OF THE LAND EXPEDITION FROM VELLICATÁ TO SAN DIEGO; FATHER CRESPI'S DIARY

The founding of the first mission, San Fernando Vellicatá, concluded, and all the things for the journey being ready, the second division of the land expedition set out. It was composed of the governor and commander of the expedition; the reverend father president, Fray Junípero Serra; Don José Francisco de Ortega, sergeant of the Leather-jacket Company; leather-jacket soldiers, muleteers, two serving boys, one for the governor and the other for the father president, and forty-four Christian Indians from the California missions. After celebrating the holy sacrifice of the Mass in supplication for the success of the journey, and having taken farewell of Father Campa, they set out from the new mission of Vellicatá on the 15th of May, and, following the trail of the first party, they arrived at the port of San Diego on the 1st of July. It was a happy day for all those who were left with life and health; for the two expeditions, by land and by sea, were now united, although sorrowful

that so many were sick and so many dead, and the barks unable to continue the voyage for lack of crews.

The number of California Indians who accompanied the land expedition had also been lessened, for five of them died on the road and many deserted and returned to their native land. Only some fourteen of the forty-four[17] who started with the first expedition and some twelve who went with the second reached San Diego.

Both land expeditions kept dairies,[18] and after reaching San Diego they prepared another, in order to observe uniformity in the names they had given to places, stating in it what both divisions of the expedition explored, saw, and observed. Of this diary they sent me a copy, so that it might serve me in the management of the missions that were to be founded in the space between San Diego and Vellicatá. But as these missions are now in charge of the reverend Dominican fathers, I will not stop to copy it here, but if there is room I will add it at the end of these sheets, going on for the present to what was decided upon at San Diego as soon as both expeditions were at that port.*

* At this place the author inserts the following note: "For a copy of the diary of the expedition by land see Part III." There the diary is inserted with the following introduction: "This diary should have been put in Part II, but I omitted it because the founding of the five missions had not yet been entrusted to the College of San Fernando. But having completed Part III, and finding time to copy the diary, I undertook this labor in order that in these

DIARY OF THE FIRST EXPEDITION BY LAND FOR THE EXPLORATION OF THE PORT OF SAN DIEGO

HAIL JESUS, MARY, AND JOSEPH

Diary[19] of the expedition and description of the long roads which, to the greater honor and glory of God, our Lord, and of our king (God save him) were traveled by the apostolic missionaries of the College of San Fernando de Mexico, of the Order of Our Father San Francisco, to whom had been recently delivered, in the years of our Lord 1769 and 1770, the missions north of the Peninsula, from the frontier mission called Nuestra Señora de los Angeles to the ports of San Diego and Monterey, all a heathen land. From this the results were prompt. The foundations of the missions of San Diego and San Carlos de Monterey were newly planted on the harbors of their respective names, and measures were ready for the founding of the third on the shore at the beginning of the channel of Santa Bárbara under the title of San Buenaventura.

pages there might be recorded what the missionaries of my apostolic College have done in these new missions, and because the account would be incomplete if I should omit it.'' Following Doyle's very good judgment, I have inserted the diary here, in its proper chronological position. See Doyle, *Noticias,* II, 36.

All this has been done under the direction of the most illustrious Don José de Gálvez, of the Council of his Majesty in the Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies, intendant of the army, and visitor for New Spain.

The diary was kept by the father prior Fray Juan Crespi, apostolic preacher of the College named, one of the three friars in the party, formerly minister of the mission of Purísima Concepción in California, and now minister of that of San Carlos de Monterey, for the reason which we will explain in the following prologue.

Prologue

Although there were three of us missionaries from the College of San Fernando de Mexico who traveled over the roads which I am going to describe, that is to say, the Reverend Father Fray Junípero Serra, doctor and professor *de prima* of sacred theology, commissary of the holy office, and president of all the missions, Father Preacher Fray Francisco Gómez, and I, my father president ordered me to write the diary, as I was the only one who had gone all the way by land from the royal presidio of Loreto to the very end, at the port of Our Father San Francisco. The father president, who came by land from Loreto with the second division of the expedition, did not go farther than the port of San Diego, but remained there with the fathers Fray Juan Vizcaíno and Fray Fernando Parrón, for the purpose of founding the first mission of San Diego.

He sent me with the expedition, giving me as companion Father Fray Francisco Gómez, who had come by ship from Cape San Lucas to the port of San Diego, and therefore could not give any account of the country lying between Santa María de los Angeles and San Diego. Consequently, I was the only one who went all the way by land, and so he thought that I ought to prepare this diary. However, there were always two religious witnesses of the journey by land to supplement the reports made by the subaltern officers who composed the body of the respective expeditions.

Having reached California, the visitor-general, Don José de Gálvez, desiring to send an expedition by sea and land to the ports of San Diego and Monterey, with the object of making their spiritual and temporal conquests, ordered that the land expedition should go in two divisions, the first to discover and open a road for the second, and that the sea party should go in two barks. I was designated for the first division, commanded by Captain Don Fernando Rivera y Moncada; for the second, which was to be commanded by Don Gaspar de Portolá, governor of California, the father president remained to make arrangements, taking as companion the father preacher Fray Miguel de la Campa, former minister of the mission of San Ignacio, with the intention of founding a mission at Vellicatá, eighteen leagues farther up than the frontier mission of Santa María de los Angeles.

For this latter division of the expedition several diaries were kept which will perhaps come to the hands of many persons. Some were made by the first division and others by the second, although, judging by what I observe in that kept by the father president, which I have before me, the difference is very immaterial, even in the names of places. Because the governor and father president could not know how we had named them, and as it was necessary for the keeping of their diaries and to make them intelligible to name them in some way, they also gave them names. In order to make everything clear I shall use both designations in this diary, leaving those who may afterwards establish the missions at liberty to name them as they please. The father president, from whose diary I shall insert in this one some notes whenever it may seem conducive to a more perfect description of some important places,[20] says the same. I shall begin with the departure from Vellicatá, where the soldiers were assembled for the start on the expedition with which Captain Don Fernando Rivera went. There were twenty-five leather-jacket soldiers, selected from the Company of California; Don José Cañizares, pilot, charged with writing the diary for the captain; three muleteers for the pack train; and some forty California Indians, new Christians, from the last missions, for the labor of opening roads and other things that might come up. However, that number was not completed, for some did not reach Vellicatá, but fled back to their missions while on the road.

Diary

March 24, 1769, Good Friday.—About four in the afternoon, those of us destined for the first division of the expedition set out from the place named Vellicatá, going northeast,[21] and following the road which the father president Wenceslao Linc, Jesuit, traveled over in the year 1766, when he passed through this place until he came to another named by him Cieneguilla, whence he climbed the Sierra and came out on the coast of the Gulf of California on his way to explore the Colorado River. Before leaving Vellicatá our party filled two barrels and all the leather bags with water, for they already knew that we were to pass the night in a place where there was none.

On leaving Vellicatá we directed our course between some hills. After two hours' traveling we stopped after sunset in a dry arroyo which had some grass, and camp was pitched there; we had covered about a league and a half. The country continues like the rest of California, sterile, arid, lacking grass and water, and abounding in stones and thorns.

March 25, Holy Saturday.—At half-past seven in the morning we left this dry arroyo and continued toward the north-northeast. After about one league's travel we came out from among the hills and entered open country with good plains, but the sterility of the land and the scarcity of water continued, with the difference that we now found some

grass in some places. After twelve we came to another dry arroyo; then we climbed a hill and descended to the arroyo of San Juan de Diós, called thus by the Jesuit father mentioned,* where we made camp at half past twelve.[22] The day's journey was five hours, during which we must have covered four and a half leagues.

This arroyo has many willows, poplars, and alders in its bed, and some pools of water. The soldiers told me that lower down it had much level land on both banks; and the California Indians, who went further down the arroyo than the soldiers, told me that lower down it runs with a good stream of water. This being the case it may be suitable for a mission. When we reached this arroyo we found a village of heathen, who fled as soon as they saw us. Our California Indians ran after them and caught a youth whom they brought to the camp, naked and all painted. He was regaled, in order to dispel the fear felt by him and the rest. We have had with us nearly all the way trees called cirios and cocobas. The California Indians are getting sick on our hands. As soon as I arrived I confessed one who is very ill.

March 26, Easter.[23]—I said Mass, which was attended by everybody, and we stopped until afternoon. I buried the Indian from Santa Gertrudis whom I confessed and gave extreme unction last

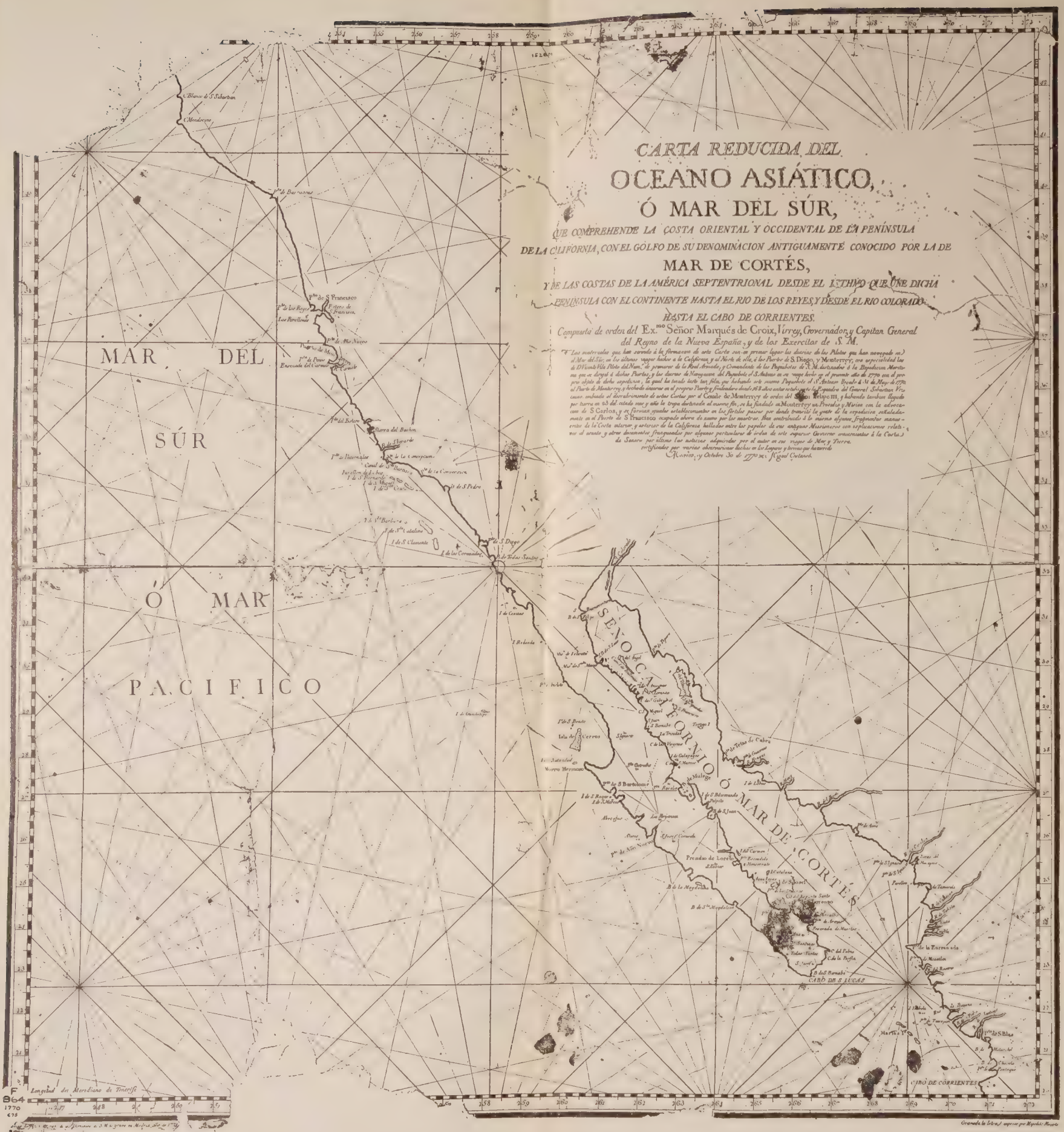
* San Juan de Diós is on the modern map about where they reached the arroyo. This stream flows east into the Gulf of California.

night, and a cross was planted over his grave. This day I took the latitude, and it came out for me thirty degrees and forty-six minutes.*

At half-past two in the afternoon we set out toward the northwest, looking for the opposite coast, the cacti and choyas of the Californias still following us. We entered the arroyo of Los Santos Mártires,† which has water and pasture and some willows in its bed, but lacks land for planting. We did not meet a single heathen in this place, although the reverend father president, when the second division of the expedition stopped here, saw a large number of them; but when they sent some California Christians to invite them in peace, they did not wait for the embassy, but fled, leaving behind them a bow and a quiver of arrows, which the Christians brought to him. Afterwards he succeeded in inducing an old heathen to come, who told him he wished to be a Christian. The father president sent him, with a messenger from Vellicatá, to Father Fray Miguel de la Campa, writing to him that since he had now a captain and forty heathen under catechism in the new mission of San Fernando de Vellicatá he might receive this old man into the number of catechumens. This afternoon's journey lasted three hours, during which we must have traveled as many leagues, and camp was made in the arroyo of Los Mártires.

* Crespi's latitudes are generally too high. This place is near latitude 30 degrees and 6 minutes.

† A branch of the west-flowing Arroyo Rosario of today.


CARTA REDUCIDA DEL
OCEANO ASIÁTICO,
Ó MAR DEL SÚR,
QUE COMPREHENDE LA COSTA ORIENTAL Y OCCIDENTAL DE LA PENÍNSULA
DE LA CALIFORNIA, CON EL GOLFO DE SU DENOMINACION ANTIGUAMENTE CONOCIDO POR LA DE
MAR DE CORTÉS,
Y DE LAS COSTAS DE LA AMÉRICA SEPTENTRIONAL DESDE EL ISTHMO QUE UNE DICHA
PENÍNSULA CON EL CONTINENTE HASTA EL RIO DE LOS REYES, Y DESDE EL RIO COLORADO
HASTA EL CABO DE CORRIENTES.
Compuesta de orden del Ex.mo Señor Marqués de Croix, Virrey, Governador, y Capitan General
del Reyno de la Nueva España, y de los Exercitos de S. M.
MAR DEL SÚR
Ó MAR PACIFICO
SENO CALIFORNIO Ó MAR DE CORTÉS
CABO DE S. LUCAS
CABO DE CORRIENTES
Longitud del Meridiano de Tenerife

Costansó's Map of the California Coast, 1770.

March 27, Easter Monday.—I said Mass and it was attended by all the company. We started about three in the afternoon, notwithstanding that the day was cloudy and threatening rain. We followed the same arroyo, which is several leagues long, among high sierras; on leaving camp we went northeast, but after following the bends of the arroyo for a little while it turned to the west-southwest. The only woods continue to be the sad cirio, and very spiny choyas and cocobas, the thistles of California. It began to rain, and we stopped, very wet, on the same arroyo, after traveling for two hours and probably making two leagues. Camp was made near some pools of water which we found in the arroyo named Los Mártires by the Jesuit above-mentioned.

The captain permitted me to put the poor bed which I carry inside his good tent, and in this way I was saved from getting wetter than I already was. We did not see a single heathen during the day's journey nor at the stopping place, but we did see many signs of them.

March 28, Easter Tuesday.—Dawn broke with rain, which had been falling all night. The altar was arranged inside the tent, but as it did not hold all the men most of them got wet while listening to the Mass that I said. The rain continued all day, and for that reason we did not start. Here seven California Indians fell ill. I confessed all of them, and as two became worse immediately I gave them extreme unction. One of them became unconscious, and there is little hope that he will live till morning.

March 29.—The day broke clear, and it was decided to depart as soon as the wet things should be dried. This morning the Indian whom I spoke of yesterday died. He belonged to the mission of San Ignacio. I buried him, and a cross was placed over his grave. The captain decided that the other Indian, who is also very ill, shall be carried on a litter, and that the five who are not so ill shall return to their missions, with two or three of the well ones to accompany them.

At a quarter to eleven we set out from the camp, and after traveling a little way we left the arroyo, taking the road to the west-northwest; we climbed a pass, and between hills we descended to a dry arroyo. A little afterward the country opened up with some plains; but it was all sterile land, without any pasture, and without any other trees than the spiny cirios and the other cacti of California. The journey was made up entirely of ascents and descents for four hours and a quarter, during which time we must not have traveled more than three leagues, on account of the windings of the road. We did not meet a single heathen, but we did see signs of them.

We pitched camp in the arroyo called Las Palmas on account of its palm trees, some of which are very large. In this place we found no water, so they opened a bátequi,* although the soldiers immediately reported that about half a league farther down there was running water and pasture, and they took the horses there. A little after we arrived at the camp

* A well dug in the sand.

the five Indians who had been sent back on account of illness also arrived and reported that as soon as we left, ten well-armed heathen had sallied out on them, and through fear they had got up courage to follow us. The poor creatures seem to be better. This place the father president called Santiago in his diary. On this day's journey nine Christian California Indians ran away from us. May God guide them and repay them for the good service they have rendered us, for their loss will be very much felt by us.

March 30.—We rested this morning and at midday I had an opportunity to make observations, and the latitude came out thirty degrees and fifty minutes. At half-past one in the afternoon we broke camp, and after traveling a little entered another dry arroyo which has a palm or two. It was very annoying on account of the sand, which fatigued the animals. We descended through a small pass, and the country opened out wide, with some plains surrounded by hills, through which we came to another dry arroyo which I named San Angelo de Fulgino.

In this arroyo we pitched camp. We brought water in two barrels and in the leather bags for the use of the men, but the animals were left without any, although precaution had been taken to water them before we set out. After we arrived the soldiers said that lower down than where we stopped there was water enough for the men, although somewhat distant. This place the father president called

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Corpus Christi, because they arrived there on this solemn day. In the night a lion was heard to roar, the same as had happened at the four preceding camps.

When the Christian Indians arrived here they brought us an old heathen with a girl, a daughter of his, ten or twelve years old; the man was totally naked, but the girl was modestly covered in front with some fibers woven together and behind with a deerskin hanging from the waist. The commander presented the girl with some strings of beads and some glass earrings. In this day's journey we left the cirios behind. The march lasted four hours, and we must have traveled three and a half leagues.

March 31.—At half-past seven we left camp, going straight to the north; we traveled up and down hills, and with a few turns we came to wind around to the north-northeast. In this journey I observed some change in the land, for although its sterility continued, yet I saw during the day some little trees with leaves similar to the cypress.

Upon descending a hill we found a village of more than ten houses. The people were roasting mescal, but as soon as they saw us they sprang up, leaving all their little utensils. Some soldiers went to catch them in order to allay their fears, but they could only overtake an old woman and three girls, the eldest of some twelve or fourteen years. They brought them, and it was seen that they all were modestly covered, and wore their civas on their

heads. The captain gave them some beads, and sent them off to their village.

About half-past eleven we arrived at Arroyo de Los Alamos, so-called by the Jesuit father because of the large number of cottonwood trees on its banks. We made camp there after four hours' travel, during which we must have covered three and half leagues. As the arroyo had no water they opened a bátequi, but after it had been opened the soldiers said that lower down there was running water in the arroyo and also good pasture.

Soon after our arrival here our neophytes came and brought us four large cakes of mescal, which were very savory and sweet. They gave them to me, saying that they had found in the sierra some twelve heathen who had given them the cakes to bring to me, with the message that on the following morning they would come to see me; but they did not keep their word. I divided three of the cakes among the neophytes and the other among the soldiers. The captain and I tasted it and it seemed to us a very rich preserve. It was made of mescal roasted, ground, and kneaded just like a loaf of bread. It is the staff of life for these heathen and those of the missions of northern California.

When the father president arrived at this place he and all the company saw a number of heathen, who, from the top of a small hill that was in sight, were standing looking at them. They made signals to them through the neophytes, telling them that

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they were friends and came in peace; that they should have no fear, and should come down to the camp and receive the gifts that they would make them; but with all this they did not wish to come.

Two or three of the Californians went toward them, but they immediately fled, and it was only possible to catch one, who resisted so strongly that it was found necessary to tie him in order to bring him to camp, where he arrived trembling with fear. Being asked by the interpreters what his name was, he said it was Arajui. They gave him meat, tortilla, and dried figs to eat. He ate a little, but trembled with fear all the time; yet he continued to speak, and the interpreters said he gave it to be understood that he was sorry he had been spying upon them so long, but that he had been sent by his chief to keep watch upon them, so that when they went forward his chief, with all of his village together, and four other chiefs with their villages, might conceal themselves along the road and fall upon them, to kill the father and all his company, no matter how many there might be. As a reward for exposing this crime our people entertained him as liberally as they could, and sent him to tell his chief and the rest how well they had treated him, and that all should come and see our people, who were friends and came in peace. They did not permit themselves to be seen close by, but when our people took up the next day's march they saw many heathen standing on several hill-tops looking at them; but they never allowed themselves

to be seen close up. What I shall relate below happened after they had made the day's march which follows:

April 1.—At eight o'clock in the morning we set out from this arroyo of Los Alamos, directly to the north, through a long range of hills, and along one of the best roads that we have had for many days. Exactly at twelve noon we arrived at La Cieneguilla, the day's march having lasted four hours, in which we must have traveled as many leagues.

Up to here we have followed the route of the Jesuit, Father Linc, as we were assured by some of the soldiers who are accompanying us, and who went on the exploration with that father; but from here we shall have to take another route, to the opposite coast. This Cieneguilla mentioned is at the foot of a high sierra. When we arrived at this place we found some small pools of water, but only enough to serve for the people, so they opened a well. After digging a little, sufficient water was found for the horses, and there was a little pasture for them. This afternoon the weather darkened, with a thick fog and a northwest wind, and the cold so intense that we could scarcely endure it. The whole afternoon was spent in trying to make altar breads for celebrating Mass, but not one could be taken out. Here one soldier and an Indian neophyte fell sick, and according to the way they describe it they will have to be carried on a litter, like the other whom they have been carrying for days.

When the father president arrived at this place with the second division of the expedition they were obliged to endure the annoyance of having many heathen gather about them, over forty altogether. They were all armed and very noisy, obstructing the passage of the pack train and the horses. Being asked by the neophytes who served as interpreters what they wanted, they replied that they did not wish that they should go on, and that they wanted to fight. As no arguments sufficed to quiet them and give a chance to catch the animals, the governor ordered the soldiers to fire, not to kill anyone, but in the air, and by this means they were made to go away and leave them in peace.

After leaving La Cieneguilla our people saw on the summit of the hills many armed heathen. As there was a bad and narrow pass in front, and being fearful that the heathen would fall upon them, they made ready with their leather-jackets and arms, but nothing happened, and it turned out to be a false alarm, although well-founded. A little while after leaving these heathen behind twelve appeared in the road, but apparently they were from a different village and of a different temper, for they proved to be very affable and friendly, offering to accompany our people and show them the camping place, which they did, and our people rewarded them the best they could.

April 2, Dominica in albis.—I could not say Mass for lack of altar breads, for, as I said yesterday,

after working all the afternoon it was impossible to produce even one that would serve. We halted to-day to give time to the explorers to examine watering places towards the opposite coast, and if possible by means of the many tracks that are to be seen, to find some heathen, with the object of obtaining from them some knowledge of the country and the watering places. I took the latitude of this place and it proved to be thirty degrees and fifty-six minutes. This afternoon an effort was made to make altar breads, with some success.

April 3, Feast of the Annunciation.—I said Mass, which all attended, and about ten o'clock we broke camp, going north-northwest, guided by two[24] heathen whom the explorers succeeded in finding yesterday, although one of them ran away from us at the beginning of the march and the one that was left was only a boy of some fourteen years. The neophytes are carrying the three sick men, one soldier and two Indians, on litters. After traveling half an hour we entered an arroyo without water, and along it we continued to a beautiful plain of good land, about a quarter of a league wide and two leagues long. About half of it is good land but the rest is sandy.[25]

In the good land at the foot of the hills of the opposite coast much verdure is to be seen. When they reached this place the father president told one of the Christian neophytes who went with the second division of the expedition, that in that green spot

there must be plenty of water, and he named the place Santa Humiliana. Although the land continues to be sterile as before, yet a difference is perceived, for now some live oaks are met with, although small, and some wild date palms. The day's journey occupied four hours, during which we must have traveled about three leagues. The entire march has been along the skirt of a high range. We found on the road three streams of running water, and grass for the animals. In one of them we saw many sycamores. The camp halted on another arroyo with running water and sufficient pasturage for the animals and which I named San Ricardo.

During the day's journey two villages were observed, but not a heathen allowed himself to be seen, although there were many signs of them. From a high hill in this place the sea of the opposite coast is visible; they say it must be about ten leagues distant.

April 4.—We set out from this place at ten in the morning, after experiencing a sharp frost. Going northwest by west, we traveled through the range, ascending and descending slopes of pure earth, for only in a few places were any stones to be seen. On one of these slopes we saw signs of an abandoned village, but although we saw many paths beaten down by heathen, not one permitted himself to be seen during the whole day's march, which occupied four hours and three quarters, and during which we probably traveled four leagues

through rough country. We stopped in a plain well covered with grass. Running through it there is an arroyo of good water which flows according to the slope of the land. It has plenty of moist ground, and of all the country traversed up to here it is the best, for it has a beautiful grove of cottonwoods and willows. Camp was made under a very large white cottonwood near the arroyo, which I named San Isidro, because we arrived there on this saint's day.*

Although we did not see any heathen in this place nor during the march, the people of the second division of the expedition saw many, for the twelve that I said offered to accompany them did so. As soon as they left the camp they found their village of very well built houses, and these heathen, with others who accompanied them, went leaping down a declivity that followed, running, shouting, and going from one side of the road to the other with joyful shouts. As the road was bad and narrow, they impeded them, though their intention was good, for the animals were frightened and there was danger that they would hurl themselves over the precipice. They were told that this was enough, and that our people were satisfied with their hilarious demonstrations of friendship; but they repeated their gift of mescales to the neophytes, and, as the uproar was such that they neither heard nor under-

* San Isidro is still on the map in the same locality, near the upper waters of Río Santo Domingo.

stood, it went on just the same, and the loss of time continued.

Their chief was now called and ordered to control his people. He did endeavor to quiet and collect them, but succeeded only in part. Finally the governor, who went ahead, fell back and made his request more forcibly. Seeing that this was not enough, he was compelled to discharge a gun into the air, but without wounding anyone. Frightened by the sound, they ceased and retired. Shortly after their arrival at the arroyo three of these heathen, with no other arms than their pipes in their hands, presented themselves, saying that from the preceding camp word had been sent to them to welcome the Spaniards in peace, for they were all good people, and in fact they did so.

The second division of the expedition arrived at this arroyo on the day of San Fernando, king of Castile, for which reason they named it San Fernando.

April 5 we rested, in order to give time to the explorers to look for a pass by which to get through the high range ahead of us. At this place I buried one of the California Indians from the mission of San Ignacio, to whom I administered the holy sacraments of penance and extreme unction, and over his grave we left a cross planted. On account of this stop I had an opportunity to make an observation, and the latitude came out thirty-one degrees and five minutes.

April 6.—At a quarter past eight in the morning we set out from this place, going west-northwest, and after a little while entered an arroyo between very high and rough hills. We then turned northwest, traveling along a declivity at the bottom of which we saw an arroyo grown with cottonwoods. We went on thus over rough and stony country, and afterward entered a valley with some level ground, well covered with grass and crossed by an arroyo with a good deal of water, which we conjectured to be the same as San Isidro, and which flows with the slope of the ground. The medium-sized plain of this valley appears to be of good land, and in places it shows that it has some moisture by different herbs, and by amarinths, some of which were gathered to eat. In the bed of the arroyo there are many cottonwoods, alders, willows, some pines, live oaks, and wild grapes.

We pitched camp in a high valley that happens to be there, with plenty of pasture and water for the animals. The march occupied three hours and a half, during which we must have traveled three leagues without encountering a single heathen, although we saw many signs of them. I called this place the valley and arroyo of San Vicente Ferrer, and the father president, who stopped in it with the second division of the expedition, called it Santa Petronilla. In this place they succeeded in seeing eleven heathen who went to visit them, and seemed to be very mild and docile. They gave them food

and tobacco, for which they all brought their pipes. They were very grateful for this and went away well pleased with our people.

April 7.—We rested to-day while the captain with eight soldiers went to explore and to see if they could find water in order to make the march, and whether we could get out of this rough mountain range.

April 8.—We left the valley at eight in the morning, taking the road to the north-northwest. After about one league of travel we came to a large arroyo, or river, with plenty of running water, and in the short space of the league traveled over we saw nine large wolves all told. This little river has a good width. The water that runs in it is well closed in, and the bed is so crowded with cottonwoods and willows that not only on the banks but also in the middle it was necessary to cut trees in order to cross it, which it was necessary to do nine times, for the high mountains on both sides gave no chance for anything else. On entering the river the direction turns to the west-southwest, for the course of the river is from east-southeast to west-southwest. The march occupied four hours and a quarter, during which we must have traveled three leagues. We made camp on the bank of the river, on a little eminence on which there is a large live oak and good grass for the horses. I named this river San Dionisio.

April 9, Second Sunday after Easter.[26]—I said Mass and we halted to rest, in order to give time for them to go early to-morrow and repair a bad pass which the explorers say lies ahead. I took the latitude of this place and it proved to be thirty-one degrees and eight minutes.

April 10.—Early in the morning I said Mass in order to give the viaticum to the soldier Guillermo, to whom I also gave extreme unction. He is very ill with a pain in the side, and for days they have been carrying him on a litter. At nine o'clock we set out from the camp, following the course of the river, which is to the west-southwest.[27] We followed it for about three-quarters of a league and crossed it three times. At the last crossing it is spotted with a sandy stretch and fewer trees. It has a fall, near which there is an opening in the country, with a spacious plain. This morning they repaired the trail up the very high ridge which we have to climb.

The plain passed, we began to climb the ridge, going northwest. We climbed to the top, but other higher ridges followed. After ascending the last one we thought we made out the sea, but is was not so, because this eminence was behind a very deep ravine and some medium-sized ranges, and another chain of hills,[28] not less lofty than those already passed. After having climbed so high we found ourselves again descending to the foot of the sierra, where we saw a leafy, verdure-grown arroyo, with a good stream of water, in which there is a large pasture

and better water for the horses. The march lasted three hours and a half, and we probably traveled two leagues. All the ranges and hills that we crossed in this march are clothed in fragrant rosemary, with many small trees that resemble cypresses, junipers, small oaks, some pines, and other trees not known to us; and we now found very few stones, so many of which we have traveled over in California and on the whole stretch up to here. We pitched camp on a mesa at the side of the arroyo mentioned, which I named San León, after the saint whose day we celebrate to-morrow.

A little while after our arrival the Indian neophytes from California, who follow on foot, came bringing a heathen Indian with three girls and a baby, all much exhausted. The girls were modestly covered behind with skins of coyote and deer, and in front with fibers well woven together; but the boy had no more clothing than nature gives, which is the only kind that the men use. Hanging from their hair they had snails[29] and seashells. The captain gave them some beads and ribbons, but I had nothing for them. They were given food and were with us all the afternoon, in great good humor. They are very poor, for it seems that the land lacks food, especially mescales.

When the father president reached this place he examined the arroyo downstream for about a league, and ascended a high hill to see what there was to be seen. It seemed to him that farther down, in the

direction of the opposite coast, there were lands well covered with grass and good for planting, and which could be irrigated with water from the arroyo, which has a grove of cottonwoods and live oaks and many Castilian roses. The father president named it the Arroyo de San Andrés Hispelo, alias El Agua de Nuestra Seráfica Religión.

Before leaving this place I buried an Indian named Manuel Valladares,* of the mission of San Ignacio, to whom I administered the holy sacraments of penance and extreme unction. I felt his death very keenly, for he had served me as interpreter. A cross was planted over his grave. *Anima ejus requiescat in pace.*

April 11.—At one in the afternoon we set out from this place, going toward the northwest. After traveling a little while through ravines, ascending and descending, the road turned. Coming out of the ravines we entered a dry arroyo, and through it came to a large plain. Afterwards we came to a mesa, and the road again turned to the west-southwest. After four hours' traveling we climbed a high hill which has some grass but with water only in a little pool in a small arroyo. We halted near it, but the animals will be left without water, for there is scarcely enough for the men.

The land on this day's march, during which we made about four leagues, continued sterile and with little pasture. The cocoba has followed us through

* A place called Valladares is still on the map in the same vicinity.

all the marches up to the present, but here there was not even any firewood for our use. Up to this place a heathen boy had followed us, but here he was joined by another from the neighborhood and the two disappeared. The captain had clothed him and I was already catechizing him and believed that he would reach baptism, judging by the signs that he gave.

April 12.—At seven o'clock we set out from this place toward the southwest, and entered a spacious plain in the mountains. Afterwards we traveled along extensive ranges of hills, not at all rough, but without pasture or water, or a sign of it. The march lasted two hours and we must have traveled about as many leagues. We did not see a single heathen, although we saw many signs of them. We stopped at the end of the two leagues because we found a little grass for the animals, and to give the explorers an opportunity to look for water, for the horses have not drunk since day before yesterday, and there is no water left for us in the leather bags. I called this place San Angelo de Clavacio, but the father president, who also stopped here, called it San Pacifico.

The explorers set forth and soon returned with the glad news that about a league away they had found running water in an arroyo. They immediately took the barrels and all the leather bags, and also the animals, so that they might drink their fill there.

April 13.—At about a quarter to ten we started towards the northwest, and traveled over ridges of the mountains, which are not rough. The land continues sterile, without trees, but with large patches of grass. At the end of two leagues we encountered many mescales, the largest we have seen on the trip, and in such abundance that they gave no room for the animals to step. Among them were many patches of cocoba, which has not been lacking the whole way. After traveling four hours and a half, during which we must have made four leagues, we descended to a large valley, also crowded with mescales. We pitched camp at the beginning of the plain, to the east of it, where some grass was found but no water at all, and we only brought a little in the leather bags. As soon as we arrived the explorers went out in search of water, and came back with the report that to the west of the valley they had found a large pond of good water. This place was immediately named La Poza de San Telmo.

April 14.—We rested in the morning with the intention of moving to the pond. At twelve I took the latitude, which was thirty-one degrees and seventeen[30] minutes. At half-past four in the afternoon we left camp, crossing the valley from east to west. On departing from this place we left behind the groves of mescal, which had been very annoying to the animals. We crossed many paths well beaten by heathen, and saw many coyotes, deer, and antelopes,

of these last a band of nine together. At nine o'clock at night we arrived at the pond, the march having lasted four hours and a half, during which we must have traveled about four leagues over land as level as the palm of the hand. Before reaching the pond, which lies to the west of it, this plain is all well covered with grass, among which we saw some patches of tule whence water flowed. At the end of the plain is the pond, near a narrow pass formed by the hills to the west.

The water in the pond is fresh and clear, and it must be about a hundred and fifty varas long and twenty wide, and so deep that on the second division of the expedition a diver who went in close to the bank, after having been under water as long as he could bear it, came out saying he had not been able to reach the bottom. There are some fish in it, the most abundant being small turtles, about a hand-breadth in size, of which they caught some. I did not see any heathen; the explorers said they had seen four, but as soon as they saw them they ran away. The reverend father president says that when he stopped at this pond he saw many heathen on a high hill, one of whom came down to the camp and gave account of the first expedition, telling them that we had stopped near the sea, but very far away. He adds that from a high hill they made out the sea, which seemed to them to be about four leagues distant, and through a pass in the mountains they saw something like a harbor or bay. The father

president named this pond Los Santos Mártires Gorgonienses, but it previously had been given the name of San Telmo.* While there I took the latitude, which was thirty-one degrees and eleven minutes—seven minutes less than yesterday's camping place, on account of our having changed our direction in our day's march in order to reach the pond.

April 15.—This day was set aside for rest and to allow the animals to enjoy the good pasture and water while the explorers go to look for a camping place for to-morrow's journey. They brought the sick soldier as far as this place on a litter. Thank God, he is now better and able to continue on horseback. Four Indians, neophytes of the mission of San Borja, ran away from us here. May God save them from misfortune.

April 16, Third Sunday after Easter.[31]—After Mass we set out from this pond at half-past eight, going north. After traveling a little way we veered to the north-northeast, but afterwards we kept on to the north during the whole march, which occupied four hours and a half, during which we must have traveled about three leagues. On this march the mescales, cocobas, choyas, and other California cacti continued. We descended by a path well beaten by heathen, to a green and leafy valley, entirely surrounded by hills. It must be a little more than a

* The San Telmo of to-day is in the same vicinity but nearer the coast.

league long and about a quarter of a league wide. It has plenty of grass and the land is good, although it gives signs of being alkaline. We pitched camp near good water, although we could see no current. Towards the opposite coast we saw cottonwoods, alders, willows, and other trees. The explorers said that to the northwest of this valley there is another and better plain with running water. I called to-day's camping place San Rafael, to whom I pray this day.

As soon as we arrived the explorers started to look for the camping place for to-morrow, and on their return they told us about the other valley. They brought one heathen man, two women, and a boy; the man was naked and painted all over, and horrible to behold; the women were modestly covered, as I said of the rest. We wished them to serve as guides to the watering places, but we could accomplish nothing because our neophytes did not understand any of their language. The commander made them presents of beads, ribbons, and some gourd cups, and with this sent them off, very well pleased.

The reverend father president says in his diary that when they arrived at this place they saw a little grove and many heathen in it. One of them came down to the camp, bringing a stick in one hand and a timbrel in the other. They welcomed him with much attention and gave him food, but he would not taste it by any manner of means, although, in

order to remove his suspicions, our people tasted it first. He gave them to understand that he was the dancer of that country, and that he could not eat without dancing first, and that if they would give him permission he would dance. They consented, and he began to dance and to play the timbrel. When the soldiers gave him some food he told them to put it in the center, and then changing his tone, he danced around it. Not content with this, he danced around all the packs, making a turn about the camp; having done this he had now the general permission to eat it all. He said that the first people, who had gone farther on, had stopped in this place, and that he offered to accompany them if they wished, but on condition that they would allow him to dance[32] the whole way. They told him "Yes." Being asked what he was called, he replied "Matiropi"; and the father president said to him: "Well, from now on you will be called Bailón,* reserving the name Pascual until you are baptized." He remained in the camp until the hour of departure, when he ran off like a deer to the hills and they saw him no more. The father president named this place Santa Margarita.

April 17.—At eight in the morning we left the camping place, going north, and after traveling a short distance the road turned northwest. The day's march occupied five hours and a half, during which we traveled about five leagues, all through

* Great dancer.

level land, but sterile, and with cacti like the preceding. The mountains on the sides were very high and bare, with here and there a small tree. We came to another valley which has a large, very green plain, and a large pond of salty water, although it has some that is fresh and potable. It appears that the entire plain is full of alkali. I named it San Bernabé.

April 18.—At eight in the morning we set out from this valley, going north-northeast, and after traveling a short distance the road turned to the northwest. At one league we found two little houses of heathen, with only one old man, of whom we inquired by signs where there was water. Taking up his bow and arrows he went ahead to guide us, but although he was given meat and tortilla he did not wish to eat.

Here the country begins to open, with meadows and hills stretching out, but the land continues with the same sterility and without firewood. After four hours' travel, in which we must have made about four[33] leagues, we came to a very large plain, with damp or marshy land, all clothed in green grass, and the old heathen showed us near a hill some little pools of fresh water, and good water for the animals. He was asked if he wished to accompany us farther, and he said "No." The commander made him a present of some beads, and he went back home well pleased.

Through this place runs an arroyo with many cottonwoods, alders, and willows, and the plain stretches from north to southwest. It has arable land with plenty of moisture and is even marshy. We crossed the arroyo and saw some water running. It may be that lower down it runs with more volume. I named this spot the Marsh of Santa Isabel, queen of Hungary, and the father president named it Güido de Cortona. Everybody thought it was a good site for a mission. I observed the latitude, which came out thirty-two degrees.

April 19.—At eight in the morning we set out from the camping place toward the northwest, veering to the west. The journey lasted five hours and a half, in which we must have traveled about five leagues, over a bad road of ups and downs and gorges. We now found the mountains and hills covered with some small trees similar to the juniper, and small oaks, but the land continued sterile and without grass. Many signs of heathen have been seen which indicate that the country is well populated, although the people do not permit themselves to be seen. At five leagues we came to an arroyo full of alders and plenty of grass, but without water, for which reason it was given the name of Arroyo Seco de los Alisos, although the second division called it San Nazario. We stopped near the arroyo, comforted by the fact that we had brought water for the people in the barrels and leather bags, though the animals were left without any.

April 20.—At seven o'clock we left the dry arroyo, taking the road to the northwest. The first part of the march was through gorges and over medium-sized hills. After traveling one league, when we were on the top of the last hill we saw the sea on the opposite coast, distant from us about a quarter of a league, but, although we desired to go down to the shore, the high, steep mountain gave us no chance, and so we took the road to descend to a valley in which we found plenty of grass, and water in a little pool used by the heathen. We made camp on a mesa near the little pool, the day's journey having covered two leagues. The pool had water, but was so deep that the animals could not drink from it, so they found it necessary to open a hole, from which a little water was obtained. Shortly afterwards, down the valley, they found running water under some trees, with which the animals satisfied their thirst. I named the valley Beato Jacobo Ilírico, choosing this saint for its patron. The father president, who passed it on the day of San Antonio, named it San Antonio de los Trabajos, on account of the troubles they had suffered from want of water. I observed the latitude and it came out thirty-two degrees and eight minutes.

April 21.—At half-past six in the morning we set out from the camping place, after burying an Indian neophyte from the mission of Santa Gertrudis, who died after receiving the holy sacrament of penance and extreme unction; above his grave I fixed a cross.

On setting out we took the road to the north, and after traveling a short time we entered another arroyo full of alders and with good pasture. The march occupied three hours, during which we must have traveled as many leagues. We halted in the same arroyo, which has running water, and which I called the Alders and Spring of San Anselmo, and which the father president named San Basilio. I did not see in it or in its vicinity any land on which the water could be used.

April 22.—At eight in the morning we set out from the camp, traveling to the north-northeast. After going a little way we turned to the north and traveled a league and a half through valleys and over steep slopes of pure earth, but very passable. We finally made out a large valley, but in order to go down to it we had to cross a very bad ridge, high and steep, but entirely of earth, so that the animals sank in half way up to their bodies. We descended to the plain, which had a length from north to south of about two leagues, and a width of about half a league. We camped in the middle of it near a spring, one of two which it has, about a stone's throw apart. By means of them the fertile land of the plain could easily be irrigated, and a good mission founded in it.

When we left camp this morning our neophytes went to the shore. They came back late to the next camp, saying that the beach is near, and that an arroyo discharges into it, coming out of the side of

the plain nearest the other coast, where we saw many trees. I called this plain San Francisco Solano. I observed its latitude, and it is in thirty-two degrees and ten minutes. There is enough pasture on the plain for the animals, and all the hills are green with the grass which covers them.

The second expedition stopped at this place on the day of San Antonio de Pádua, for which reason the father president named it the Valley of San Antonio. He states in his diary that he explored it carefully, accompanied by the sergeant of the Leather-jacket Company, Don Francisco de Ortega, examining the large cottonwood grove that this valley has to the west-northwest, towards the shore. He says there are many cottonwoods and live oaks of all sizes, some of them very large. They saw in the grove a large marsh with many tules, and a channel of running water more than a buey deep. They could not go on to explore farther down lest some heathen should be killed. As a matter of fact, near the tules they encountered three heathen women, with whom they did not stop, but went on with the object of finding the source of the water. Before reaching it a band of heathen appeared on the summit of the hills and shouted at them. They called to them in peace to come down without fear, but they kept up their shouting. By the signs they made it was understood that they were telling the Spaniards to turn back. Seeing that they did not do so, a well-armed Indian scrambled down and ran

in front, making gestures as though he wished to fight, and compelling the sergeant to make ready with his leather jacket and shield. The father president, seeing the danger to the life of the heathen, thought it was best to go back without finding the source of the water, postponing the search till a better occasion. But, according to what he saw of the valley, it seemed to him, as it did to me, a suitable site for a large mission.

April 23, Fourth Sunday after Easter.[34]—After Mass was said we left the place, about eight in the morning, going straight north. Having left the plain we traveled over a hill and through a pass, in which we found a great many stones for building if a settlement should be made there. The whole ascent and descent, which is not very rough, is full of live oaks. After two hours' travel we came to another medium-sized valley, about a league long, which runs from northeast to southeast, all of very good land, with a good deal of marsh and wet land, and so much verdure that at first sight it looked like a cornfield. In the highest part of the valley there are many willows and tules. In the midst of this pleasant place there is a good pool of water, which runs for some distance within the green grove where it seems to sink. Although this water is very hot, almost as soon as it strikes the air it cools, and it is very good. Besides this water there are two other little pools of cold water from springs. Everybody thought it a suitable place for a settlement.

I named it the Valley and Marsh of San Jorje, and the father president, who also stopped there, called it San Atenógenes, for the bishop and martyr, in deference to the sergeant, who has a very special devotion to this saint.

In the afternoon the captain went out with eight soldiers to explore and look for a camping place for to-morrow. They returned, saying that on the summit of a high hill about three leagues from the place they descried the sea, which beat upon the cliffs of that hill, and that it formed a very large bay with two islands in the middle, which we inferred to be the bay of Todos Santos. But they observed that the mountain range which followed was higher, precipitous and close to the sea, and had no pass, and also that the road to the north which we were following was taking us to the precipice, without any possibility of descending to the shore. For this reason it was necessary to stop here while the explorers looked for a road and water in another direction.

April 24.—The explorers set out early in the morning. In the afternoon they returned with the report that they had found a way out and a water-hole at which to camp; but in the night it became cloudy, and began to rain hard, with a northwest wind which continued all night.

April 25.—The day broke raining, and it continued all day and the next night, so that we could not leave the place.

April 26.—The day dawned clear, but in order to give an opportunity somewhat to dry the clothing that had been wet, we did not leave until half-past ten in the morning, when we started northeast,[35] turning our steps to the north after going a short distance. The march lasted three hours and a half, and covered three league of hard travel, during which we crossed hills grown with groves of small oak and other trees not known to us. During the entire day's journey we did not see a single heathen, though we did see trails well beaten by them. We reached the watering place that the explorers had found. It is an arroyo which has grass and some water, with some live oaks, alders, and other little trees which we did not know, but nothing else worth notice. I named it Los Santos Mártires Clete y Marcelino, and the father president, who also stopped there, called it San Gervacio.

April 27.—We set out from the camping place at eleven in the morning, carrying water for our use in the two barrels and all the leather bags, as a precaution against the chance that the next camping place might not have any. We went directly to the north and traveled three hours, in which we must have made about two leagues, all ups and downs. After surmounting the first hill we descended to a dry arroyo which has some live oaks and alders, and pitched camp in a hollow without water. The explorers went out to look for some and to ascertain whether the very high mountain which we have

close to us is very rough, and if there is any pass. They returned dissatisfied with their examination, saying that they had not found water and that the mountains ahead of us to the north do not permit passage on account of their roughness. We therefore have to content ourselves with the water that we brought as a precaution, and the animals with the grass which, thank God, there is in this place. They will drink water when some is found.

April 28.—Early in the morning the explorers started out to see if they could find water in another direction, for it was now badly needed by everybody. At the same time the captain decided that the pilot, Don José Cañizares, should go out with six soldiers to explore at closer range, and ascertain whether the mountain[36] gave any chance to descend to the shore. Both bands spent the whole day in their respective explorations. In the evening they returned, the first ones saying they had found a small spring of water about half a league behind the camp; and the pilot bringing the report that from a high hill they had seen the beach, which is a bay; that in it there are some islands; that he believed the descent could be made to the shore; but that in all the country he had traveled over he had not found water or any signs of it.

April 29.—We started early in the morning, turning back about half a league from this hollow to the little spring of water that I said yesterday the explorers had found. It is in a very deep dry run[37]

with live oaks and alders. It has plenty of pasture for the animals, but although the spring has a sufficient flow of water, the animals could not drink from it; and even for the men it was very difficult. For this reason they opened a well, and enough flowed out for all, with which, thanks to God, we were relieved. I named this place the Spring of San Pedro Mártir, and the father president, who stopped here, named it Santa Miguelina. In the afternoon the captain went out with ten soldiers to examine the bay and see if there is a passage by the beach, and to look for watering places, in order to continue the journey.

April 30.—We rested in this place until the captain should come back from his explorations. I celebrated Mass, because it is the fifth Sunday after Easter. In the afternoon the captain returned well pleased, saying there is a passage along the shore of the bay, over level land all the way and with plenty of water and pasture for all, God be thanked and may He guide us on our way.

May 1, Feast of the Holy Apostles San Felipe and Santiago.—I said Mass in the presence of everybody. Then we set out from the camp, going west-southwest, carrying water in the barrels and leather bags because the next watering place can not be reached to-day. The journey lasted five hours, through very rough gorges and with ups and downs. After about an hour's travel we saw the bay from a height and continued our way to it. We stopped

in a hollow, in level land now, on the way to the beach. While descending the last slope we heard some heathen shouting and saw them raising a great cloud of dust. As soon as they saw us they turned back and ran at great speed, like deer. We stopped in the hollow, about a league before reaching the bay, having traveled about three leagues. I named the place the Hollow of the Holy Apostles. We had no water here except what they carried, and the animals, though they had good pasture, went without drinking.

May 2.—We started early in the morning towards the northwest, over level land, and after traveling a league we came to the shore of the bay, having crossed a ravine about half way. The day's march occupied three full hours, and we pitched camp on a high spot in a ravine formed by the first curve of the bay, about two hundred yards from the water of the sea. It is a delightful place, all of level land, well covered with green grass, and near the hills, which are not very high. There are some trees in an arroyo to the west which has no water. But there is plenty of it in some large pools, and although one of them is salty, the rest are of good water. I named the place Holy Cross of the Pools of the Bay of Todos Santos,* and the father president called it the Visitation of Nuestra Señora María Santísima. On reaching this place we found a village of heathen near one of the pools of water.

* The bay still has the same name.

But as soon as they descried us they fled with their arms to the hill, and although the captain called to them, making signs to them that they should come without fear, as we were friends and peaceable people, he accomplished nothing except that they shouted to us from above and made signs that we should turn back.

May 3, Feast of the Holy Cross.—I said Mass in the presence of everybody. We rested this day in order to permit the explorers to lay out the road for the following march, while the horses enjoyed the good pasture and the abundance of water. I took the latitude and it came out thirty-two degrees and fourteen minutes.

May 4, Great Feast of the Ascension of Christ.—I said Mass in the presence of everybody, and at nine o'clock we broke camp, going northwest. On leaving the place we made a circuit around a range of hills that descend to this first curve of the bay, and at the end of the first hour we found ourselves again on the seashore. We proceeded along the shore the rest of the march, which lasted three hours and a half, all over good level land, until we struck a hill which juts out into the sea. It has on its skirt a green hollow, with several pools of fresh good water, and we made camp near it. We called it the Pools of Santa Mónica, and the father president named it Village of San Juan. Our explorers found in this place a large village which we did not find later on our arrival, doubtless[38] because the inhabi-

tants hid themselves in the hills through fear. The second division of the expedition found them, and the reverend father says in his diary that they were with them all day; that they were Indians of good appearance, affable and cheerful; and that they were much in love with these good-looking heathen. They gave the Spaniards fish and mussels, for which they went to fish in their little canoes; and they danced for them in their fashion to entertain them, and begged them to remain there a second night. The mules caused the natives much fear and astonishment, and even when they were in the midst of our people, in perfect confidence, if they saw the mules come near they all trembled, and calling out "mula, mula," a term which they quickly learned, they tried to get away. In order to quiet them one of our men had to get up, take hold of the mules, and lead them aside. The men all go about naked, with quivers on their shoulders, while on their heads they wear a kind of crown made of skins of beaver and other animals. They wear their hair cut like perukes and daubed with white and green with some taste. The women go modestly covered with woven fibers and skins. The bay has two islands in the middle of its mouth, and answers the description given to it by the pilot Cabrera Bueno.

May 5 and 6 we rested in this place to give time for the explorers to examine the country and look for water for the succeeding journeys.

May 7.—To-day, Sunday, after Mass was said, we started from this place about half-past seven in the morning, taking the road to the north in order to go to the watering place which the explorers had found. For a short distance we followed a very stony arroyo, and then climbed a very steep and stony slope. After an hour's journey we again saw the sea, though it was far away. We crossed a very green arroyo, full of alders and live oaks, but without water. After traveling four hours and a half, during which we must have made four leagues over hills and slopes, we came to a large valley with a great deal of pasture, trees at its ends, and a stream of water running among the tules. It has a good pool of water, and some live oaks.[39] We made camp in the shade of a very large one, near the arroyo. I called this place the Valley of San Estanislao, and the father president called it San Juan Bautista.

I observed the latitude and it was found to be thirty-two degrees and eighteen minutes. During this march some heathen shouted from some hills. Seeing that we paid no attention to them they followed us, but at a distance, and keeping on the tops of the hills. We came to the camping place and they stopped on the last hill, continuing their shouts and making motions with their hands for us to go away. There were about thirty of them, armed with bows and arrows. The captain signaled them to come

to the camp, showing them the beads and ribbons; but there was no way to induce them to come down or to be quiet, so they kept on in this way, we paying no attention to them, until sunset, when they gave a great halloo and went off.

May 8.—At half-past seven in the morning we left the camp, taking the road to the west-northwest. As soon as we abandoned the spot we heard a joyful shouting, and saw that they were the heathen, the same number that we saw yesterday afternoon. They immediately went down to see if we had left anything and then, divided in two bands, they began to run to the summits of the hills that skirt the valley we were crossing. After half a league's travel it became necessary for us to ascend a pass, and then go through a narrow opening between hills. At the narrowest place we saw the heathen, who were almost above us and within gunshot. Seeing this, the captain ordered the pack train to halt, close up, put on their leather jackets, take their arms in their hands, and forming in a file, to maintain silence and pay attention to the movements and orders that he might give them. They did this instantly. As soon as the heathen, who numbered twenty-nine, and were apparently the same as those of yesterday, with their quivers of arrows, saw this movement, they halted a little beyond gunshot, divided in two bands. Half of them were on a knoll and the other half on the slope of the hill with bows and arrows in their hands, ready to draw the bow.

One of them shouted at us, making motions with his hands, now up and now down, now to one side and now to the other. We kept this position about half an hour. At this juncture one of them slid down the slope of the hill, as though he wished to go behind some bushes where the horses were, in the rear of the file of soldiers, where I also was awaiting the outcome of the show.

Seeing this, the captain, who was in the band[40] of soldiers, went out with four of them, and little by little crept up to where the heathen was sliding down. As soon as he saw them the Indian rushed off at full speed to the place where the others were. The captain halted in the file, watching the movements of the Indians, who continued shouting. When one wearied another continued with his harangue while our men, with their eyes fixed upon them, remained quiet and awaited the orders of the captain. After a short time three of the band that was standing on top of the hill let themselves down little by little, but they never came within gunshot. And all three shot their arrows into the air; they fell near the captain, who ordered a soldier to fire and he fired himself. Thank God, there was no casualty, for they were not within range, as I said, and the firing was done only to frighten them and to prevent deaths. It did in fact serve this purpose, for as soon as they heard the shot they all fled, and did not stop until they reached the summit of the hill which was near the knoll; but from there, where they con-

sidered themselves safe, they kept up their shouting as before, while our people did not move or utter a word. We stood in this way about two long hours, until they grew tired, and, giving one yell, passed behind the hill. Some time having elapsed during which we did not see them, we again took up the march, until we came in sight of a very green valley with an abundance of water; but it was very deep, with a long, high, and even steep descent.

It was already three o'clock in the afternoon, and we did not know at what point we could get down into the valley, so the commander ordered camp pitched on a very spacious mesa near the beach, having an abundance of grass and mescales, until they could find a way to descend into the valley, whence water could be brought up for the use of the people, letting the animals wait until the following day. About three in the afternoon we halted on the mesa, which I called San Juan Bautista, about one league before reaching the valley. As soon as we arrived we saw the twenty-nine heathen on a height, some distance off, who did not go away until sunset.

May 9.—Early in the morning we set out from the mesa. We went west-northwest, and after traveling a short distance descried the very deep green valley. We descended its long steep slope, all of earth or dust, into which the animals sank so that they seemed to be sliding rather than walking. As soon as we began to descend into the valley

it looked to us like a mission already established, both on account of the verdure, which resembled a cornfield, and because the many little Indian houses which appeared to us like a town. The moment the heathen saw us they broke into an uproar, all coming out of their houses and running to some knolls, most of them not stopping until they reached a hill on the other side of the valley. At the foot of the slope we found a large running arroyo, with many tules in it, amid which there is a great deal of water in pools.

We halted near the middle of the valley, not very far from the little houses of the heathen. After camp was pitched, seeing that the heathen remained on the knoll and the hill that I spoke of, and did not come down to the village, the captain approached them with two soldiers and without going down to the village called to those on the knoll and the hill which I mentioned, and to those who were nearer. He made signs to them not to be afraid and to come down, as he wished to give them presents, showing them a piece of cloth and a ribbon, but they did not move. Instead they made signs that he should leave these things and go away, and they would come down and take them. Complying, the captain left them on the ground and retired to the camp, when one of the natives went down and got them, leaving three arrows fixed in the ground. Near them he left a fish net, to repay the gift and as a sign of peace. The captain went and took it,

expressing his thanks by signs, and inviting them again to come down to the camp. By this three of them were now encouraged to come to the camp, but with arms in their hands. They were caressed and entertained as much as possible. Encouraged by this, everybody came down, men, women, boys and girls, to their little houses or to the camp. They were all given presents and they reciprocated with roasted sardines. They told us, as we understood perfectly by the signs, that they had seen two barks pass by, and that they were not far away.

While they were with us and in very good humor, some heathen were heard shouting, and, looking, we saw that they were the same twenty-nine who had been following us during these days, and who had not learned their lesson. They were coming down the same slope by which we had descended. As soon as the friendly ones of this village saw them they fled like deer to the hill, and it was impossible to detain them. Without doubt they were from a hostile village, and they fled through fear, not feeling safe even with us. We regretted this greatly, for they had promised to go with us as far as the next camp to show us the watering place.

The hostiles came half-way down the slope, where they stopped and sat down. They remained there shouting more than two hours, and when they were tired they gave one loud yell and went off, doing no damage except to frighten away the good Indians, who did not come near the village again, no doubt

being afraid of the others, for from us they had nothing to fear.

This place seemed to me suitable for a good mission, with water, land, pasture, and many villages, very near the shore. I named it the Valley of San Juan Bautista; the father president, who camped there, called it San Juan Capistrano.

May 10.—Early in the morning we set out from this valley towards the northwest, and entered a canyon with many trees. After a little we climbed a high ridge, and traveled over some large mesas, covered with good grass. An abundance of wild beans were found here, which seemed to me very little different from the cultivated or ordinary beans. At these mesas nine friendly heathen from the village of San Juan Bautista caught up with us, having come to guide us as they had promised. They had left the village for the reason already stated. They now kept their word, showing us the road and leading us away from a high range which we had on our right.

After four hours' travel we came in sight of a valley as green and pleasant as the one we left behind at San Juan. But we were at a standstill, not knowing how to descend to it, as much because of its depth as because we were on the top of a very high declivity down which it was necessary to go. Everybody alighted, and down we went, in some places standing up and in others sliding, in constant peril of rolling down, although we had the con-

solation that it was pure earth. In this way we went down to the vale or valley, which is grown with tule and a thick wood of very tall saplings. We did not examine the place, but a well was opened in the tule, which has marsh water, so that the animals could drink, and also to get water for the use of the people. By clearing out the trees from this valley it might serve for a town, taking the water from above. We arrived here after having traveled some four leagues from the preceding camp, and halted in the vale or valley, which I called the Wells of the Valley of San Antonio, and which the father president, who also stopped there, called San Francisco Solano. The nine heathen from the preceding camp, who accompanied and conducted us more than half the way, also arrived here with us.

Shortly after our arrival many heathen of both sexes and all ages began to descend from the hills into the valley, so many in number that we could not count them. They apparently belonged to four villages, for we observed that four of them, who were doubtless captains or chiefs, made us long speeches, of which we understood nothing, although we inferred from their signs that they offered themselves and their lands to us. We understood also, the same as from the preceding village, that they had seen two barks, and that they were anchored.[41] They also spoke of the people who had come in them, and said that there were three fathers who wore the same dress as I, pointing to me and taking hold of my habit.

The captain gave them beads, ribbons, and other little gifts, for which they were very grateful. They reciprocated with fish nets, which they carried tied around their waists, and many arrows, painted in all colors, with good flints. The men collected[42] about six dozen, which were brought all the way to San Diego. They also gave us roasted sardines and mussels. All the men were naked and painted in different colors, and wore feathered head-dresses. They were all armed, most of them with bows and arrows, and some with macanas and long harpoons with points of bone. The women were also painted, but were modestly covered, wearing woven fibers as far as the knee in front and skins of beaver or seals behind. All the Indians seemed to us to be docile, friendly, and submissive. They remained in camp with us until very late, with the same confidence as though they were with their own people. At night they went to sleep in their villages.

May 11.—Early in the morning we set out from this place, guided by many heathen, who were prompt to accompany us and guide us to the next camping place. We took the same direction as yesterday, to the north-northwest, veering to the northwest. As soon as we left the valley we came out on the seashore, crossing some large sand dunes. Nearly the entire march was by level land and close to the shore; but there were many canyons to cross, they being ravines of pure earth which must have been formed by the water that flows in the rainy

season to the sea. One league from the preceding place is found a very wide green valley, with less brush than the one before. It ends on the beach, and we saw that an estuary opens into it. Farther back from the sea there may be fresh water emptying into the estuary. We did not examine it, but only saw it in passing, and we noticed that the coast here appears to be peaceful. Afterwards we crossed some mesas of earth with good grass and many mescales and prickly pears with sour fruit. I may note that here the mescales end, and that farther up no more are met with. We went on, drawing away from the shore. Seeing that we were not taking their advice, the natives went away little by little, as if they were offended, and in a short time not a single heathen was left to us.

We continued on our way, and after traveling five hours and a half, in which we must have marched four leagues, we halted in a little valley which has an arroyo with water running among willows, and wet ground with pools of fresh water. One pool, which is about a hundred steps from the sea, has running water which debouches on the beach. Near it there is a good village of heathen. We made camp on a mesa which is full of small bisnagas, and it was necessary to cut away many of them so as not to hurt our feet while in camp. The village was about two gunshots distant from us.

I named this place El Vallecito de San Pío, and the father president, in his diary, called it San

Benvenuto. As soon as we reached the camp we saw a heathen coming from the village, followed by all the rest, men, women, and children. The first one was very friendly, as if he had already communicated and dealt with us, and he did not stop talking and gesticulating. He wore some clothing, and some beads hanging in the cartilage of his nose, which he had pierced. He continually kept talking and laughing and examining everything in the camp. The captain gave him some ribbons and beads, and did the same with the others; but they were so stingy that even though they brought mussels they did not give us a single one. They demanded pay in advance, and it had to be just what they wanted, and nothing less. We soon learned that they were very wide awake, extremely clever, and very thievish, so much so that the heathen whom I first spoke of, who looked at everything with such confidence, stole some spurs and mangas from the soldiers, without anyone seeing him. When the father president stopped here on a feast day and said Mass this same fellow stole from him the little altar bell and his spectacles, and hid them close to the altar under the ground, so that they had a great deal of trouble finding them. For this reason they called that Indian Barrabás.

May 12.—Early in the morning we left this place, going towards the north, along the shore, guided by some heathen from this village, who, without being invited, offered to accompany us. They

followed us for about half the day's march, when they left us. The journey was a little more than three hours over country all passable, during which we crossed some ravines, though not so troublesome as the preceding ones. During this interval we must have traveled about three leagues, and we reached a village of heathen which is on a mesa that resembles an island, not bathed by the sea but surrounded by a ravine. As soon as these heathen saw us they invited us to stop near their village; but it seemed better to cross the ravine and camp on the other side of it near the shore, which has plenty of grass for the animals. In the ravine there is a pool of fresh water from which this heathen village gets its supply. Men, women, and children are unpainted and without arms. They are very different from the preceding and are very peaceable, docile, and friendly. During the day they remained with us as confidently as though they were with their own people. They told us the two ships were near, showing that they were pleased about it. Opposite this place are the four islands called Los Cuatro Coronados. I called the place Pool of the Holy Martyrs, Nercio and his companions; the father president named it Cárcel de San Pedro.

May 13.—Early in the morning we left this place, continuing north, accompanied by seven heathen from the village. After traveling a little distance we had to descend a long and very steep slope to a deep arroyo; then, as soon as we got to the bottom

we began to ascend a high pass, because the road which we were following along the beach was blocked by the steep cliff which juts out to sea. After traveling one league we passed a point of land which prevented us from seeing how the beach runs, and then we saw in a long stretch the level shore that we were to follow, all the land being well covered with green grass.

From a height on this plain we could see that the ocean enters far into the land. In the bay we saw the mainmasts of the two barks, which were scarcely to be made out, on account of the distance that we were still away from them. This sight was a great consolation and a joy for everybody, for we found ourselves at last so near the desired harbor of San Diego.

After three hours' march we came near to a populous village of heathen, along one side of which runs a good arroyo of water coming from the foot of a mountain range which we have had on the right during the entire day's march. At this place it retires about a league, forming a large plain of good land with much green grass. We stopped near the village, where we had good water and pasture for the animals. Although firewood is scarce, the mountains, which are not far off, have it in abundance. I named this village Sancti Spiritus, as it was the Eve of the Feast of the Holy Ghost, hoping that God with the fire of His divine love would light in the hearts of these heathen lively desires to receive our Catholic Faith.

As soon as we arrived and made camp many heathen of both sexes and all ages came not only from this village but also from others near by. All were very much painted and well armed, the men with their bows and arrows, and with great plumage on their heads. These Indians are extraordinarily clever and spirited, great traders, and covetous of everything they see and like, and very thievish. They are vociferous when they talk, and when they speak they shout as though angry.

This place is about half a league from a bay near the harbor. The heathen brought mussels, but if they were not given what they wanted and liked, by no means would they hand out a mussel. This afternoon it became cloudy and then it began to rain, and all were thoroughly drenched.

May 14, Sunday, the Feast of Espíritu Santo.—Not only did it rain on us all night and thoroughly wet us all, but the morning opened very dark, and as soon as day dawned a heavy shower fell again, lasting about an hour and a half, which I endured without any other covering than my cloak and hat. Afterwards the day cleared, but the captain was of the opinion that I should not say Mass, because we were all so wet, and also because there was a large crowd of heathen standing there, all armed. Consequently we went without Mass, which I regretted very much, on such a great day as the first day of the Feast of Espíritu Santo.

We were all anxious to reach the desired port, and we thought that we could get there in one day's

march, even though it was somewhat long. In accord with these desires, notwithstanding that we are all so wet, the captain decided to break camp. We therefore set out a little before ten o'clock, continuing north, over a broad plain, withdrawing a little from the shore of the bay for fear that there might be marshes near the coast.

The reverend father president, with the second division of the expedition, stopped about one league farther up, to the north of the village of Sancti Spiritus, taking the direct road and approaching somewhat nearer to the shore, where, on this same plain, he also came across an arroyo with running water and good pasture which he named San Pablo. It seemed to him a very good site for a town or mission. This arroyo doubtless empties farther up the shore than we went, for we did not find it. In the space of three leagues after our departure from the village where we stopped yesterday we found to-day three villages of heathen, but apart from the road which we were following. All along the way we met heathen from those villages, all of them armed with their bows and arrows. The day's march occupied somewhat more than six hours and a half, all over level land, well covered with grass, during which we probably traveled about six leagues, and we arrived very fortunately and happily at the desired port of San Diego.

As soon as we descried the camp the soldiers discharged their guns, giving a salute, and immediately those who were in the camp, as well as those

on the packets, responded with their artillery and firearms. Immediately the three fathers who had come in the barks, and also the officers who were on land, came to meet us and gave us hearty embraces and congratulations that we were all now united in this port of San Diego. We soon had the story of their arrival and of the misfortunes that they had suffered on the sea from the scurvy. They also told us that many had died, and how the rest had been stricken with the same disease; and how the packet *San Antonio,* alias *El Príncipe,* had arrived first, which was on the 15th of February, although it was the last to sail from Cape San Antonio—I should say San Lucas. It dropped anchor in the port of San Diego on the 14th of April, and the *San Carlos,* which had left the port of La Paz on the 10th of January, had anchored in San Diego on the 29th of April.

To the northeast of this port, not very far from its shore, there is a valley of good arable land, the length of which must be not less than three leagues, and the width half a league, or in the narrowest part a quarter of a league. In the middle of this valley ran a large river, six or eight varas wide, with water half a vara in depth, but it went on diminishing from day to day, so that in three weeks after our arrival it entirely stopped flowing, and there was left only water in pools. The bed of the river is everywhere very full of willows, cottonwoods, and alders. In the lower part of the valley there are some large live

oaks, also many very leafy wild grapes, and Castilian roses loaded with flowers, a species of very fragrant wild rosemary, and an abundance of the wild fruit of the cocoba, which has not been absent on the whole trip.

In this port and its vicinity there are many large villages of heathen. All the men are naked and most of them painted, as I have said of all the rest, but the women are modestly covered in front with woven fibers and behind with skins of animals. They are very intelligent Indians, noisy, bold, great traders, covetous, and thievish. They all go armed with their bows and quivers of arrows, and some with macanas. The beach abounds in large sardines, star fish, other species of fish, and mussels. All these heathen are fishermen, and they go to sea in rafts made of tule. The country consists of high hills, all of earth and without stones, and all covered with green grass and good pasture for every kind of stock. In front of the harbor, to the south, are the four islands named Los Cuatro Coronados, distant from *terra firma* about six leagues. The entrance to the port is from south to north, and its mouth, according to the observations made by the captains of the packets, is in thirty-two degrees and thirty-four minutes. The point where the mission was to be established, about three leagues farther north, is in latitude thirty-two degrees and forty-two minutes.

After arriving at this port, while waiting until the father president should arrive at the head[43] of

the second division of the land expedition, in which came the governor of California, Don Gaspar de Portolá, commander-in-chief of the expedition by land, we four friars who came employed ourselves in assisting the many sick that were there, both the volunteer soldiers of Catalonia and the crews of both barks, who were stricken with scurvy. The fathers told us that nine of the crew of the *San Carlos* had already died of it, two on the way who were cast into the sea, and seven who were buried on the shore where the camp was established.

At the end of June the sergeant of the Leather-jacket Company, Don José Francisco Ortega, arrived at this place, accompanied by a single soldier. He brought the news that the governor, with the father president and the rest composing the second division of the expedition, were now near, being only about three marches away, and that he had come ahead to give us this information. Captain Don Fernando immediately ordered the sergeant to return with ten soldiers to meet the governor, who, as soon as he received this relief pushed forward and arrived at this port on the day of San Pedro. The reverend father president, with all the rest who composed that expedition, arrived on the first day of July, a little before midday. All arrived in good health, without the slightest accident, thanks to God, as regards the land expedition, except the Indian neophytes, some of whom died, as I have already said, and most of whom ran back to their own country.

July 2.—As it was Sunday and the Feast of the Visitation of Our Lady, we sang a solemn Mass in thanksgiving to her most holy spouse, San José, patron of both expeditions by land and sea, since all parts of it were now congregated in this, their intermediate destination.

As soon as the two divisions of the land expedition which was to be commanded by Governor Don Gaspar de Portolá were united, he consulted with the commander by sea, Don Vicente Vila; and in view of the fact that all the crew of the packet *San Carlos,* the flagship, were ill, and many of them already dead, and that the other packet, the *San Antonio,* lacked little of being in the same condition, the two chiefs decided that the packet *El Príncipe* should sail with the few men that it had left for San Blas, to inform his Excellency of the state of these expeditions, and that the land party should continue their journey to look for the port of Monterey. This plan was carried out, *El Príncipe* sailing from the port of San Diego on the 9th day of July. The governor decided that the expedition should resume the march by land on the 14th of the same month, as was done, with the expectation that the bark *San José,* which it was said would leave California in May with provisions, would overtake us on the road or at the port of Monterey.

This expedition is composed of the governor and commander-in-chief, Don Gaspar de Portolá, with a servant; Captain Don Fernando Rivera y Moncada

with his servant; Lieutenant Don Pedro Fages, with seven of his soldiers of the Free Company of Catalonia; twenty-seven leather-jacket soldiers; Engineer Don Miguel Constanzó, and fifteen Christian Indians,[44] California neophytes.

The reverend father president decided that I, in company with the reverend father preacher Fray Francisco Gómez, should go with this expedition, his Reverence remaining in San Diego, with Father Fray Juan Vizcaíno and Fray Fernando Parrón, to make a beginning of the first mission, until the bark *San José* should arrive, in order to go in it by sea to Monterey. The commander left as escort in San Diego eight leather-jacket soldiers, all ill, not only the volunteers of Catalonia, but also the crew of both barks. The chief surgeon was left to give them medical care, and as laborers some California Indians who had come with the second division, and a serving boy. All the rest, seven in number, go as muleteers with the land expedition to Monterey, making the total of this company seventy-four, including the two friars, the father companion, Fray Francisco Gómez, and myself.

Fray Juan Crespi.

This expedition set out on the day designated, the 14th of July, 1769, and the diary of its journey was kept by Father Fray Juan Crespi, of which a copy is inserted in Part II.*

* It follows here in Chapters X to XVII.

CHAPTER IX

WHAT WAS DETERMINED AT THE PORT OF SAN DIEGO AFTER THE TWO EXPEDITIONS WERE UNITED

Both expeditions having arrived at the first port[45] of their destination, seeing themselves united, although with the sorrow of having so many sick and having lost so many by death, especially in the crew of the flagship, the reverend father president decided that on the following day, the second of July, Sunday the Feast of the Visitation of Our Lady, Mass should be sung in thanks to her most holy spouse San José, the patron of both expeditions by sea and by land, now united in the port of San Diego. This was done with all possible ceremony, the troops making their salvos by discharging their guns and muskets. This function concluded, the two commanders, the one by land, Don Gaspar de Portolá, and the one by sea, Don Vicente Vila, discussed between themselves what they ought to do, in view of the deaths that had occurred and of the great number of sick. They decided that the packet *San Antonio,* after leaving all of its cargo, should go to San Blas, taking the sailors that

were the least ill; and that letters should be written to his Excellency and the visitor-general informing them of the state of the expeditions, and how many were sick; and requesting his Excellency to send a crew for the flagship, which would remain anchored awaiting the aid. The letters were also to state that, leaving the sick in San Diego with some of the leather-jacket soldiers, all the rest of the land expedition would go on to look for the port of Monterey, with the expectation that the bark *San José,* for which an order would be left, would cruise to Monterey to look for the land expedition and relieve it. As soon as they had come to this decision they set the 9th day of the same month of July for the departure of the bark *El Príncipe,* and the 14th for the departure of the land expedition.[46]

They made ready everything necessary for the voyage, and the bark sailed on the day named. After twenty days' navigation it dropped anchor at San Blas. Nine men had died on the way and had been cast into the sea, so that they reached the port without enough men to manage the ship. Report was made to his Excellency immediately, and he took the most prompt and vigorous measures for relief. Soon after the arrival of *El Príncipe* at San Blas a schooner sailed for California and arrived at Loreto on the 7th of September, the Eve of the Nativity of Our Lady. This required that we should celebrate the day

of the patroness with this news, which I announced from the pulpit to the people, asking them to offer a prayer to Our Lady to allow the expedition to arrive in safety at Monterey.

Everything necessary was arranged for the departure of the land expedition on the day appointed. It was composed of the governor and commander-in-chief, Don Gaspar de Portolá, with one servant and twenty-seven leather-jacket soldiers; the lieutenant, Don Pedro Fages, with seven of his volunteer soldiers of the Free Company of Catalonia; the engineer, Don Miguel Constanzó; seven muleteers, and fifteen Christian Indians from California. The reverend father president also decided that two of the missionaries should go with that company, and he named Fathers Fray Juan Crespi and Fray Francisco Gómez, his Reverence deciding to stay in San Diego until the arrival of the bark *San José,* in which he would embark and follow by sea to Monterey, keeping with him in the meantime Fathers Fray Juan Vizcaíno and Fray Fernando Parrón, with whom he would set about founding the mission[47] of San Diego as soon as the expedition should depart. All the Catalonian volunteers were also left in San Diego, being so incapacitated that they could not travel, as were also the sick sailors. For the guard of the camp eight leather-jacket soldiers remained, one with the office of corporal, one blacksmith, one car-

penter, one servant, and eight California Indians. The *San Carlos* remained at anchor in the harbor with its captain and commander, Don Vicente Vila, a pilot, Don José Cañizares, five sailors, and the surgeon, Don Pedro Prat, to take care of the sick, who were on shore in the infirmary. The reverend father president charged Father Fray Juan Crespi to keep a diary of the journey, which he did faithfully, and which I have thought it best to copy here, so that it may be at hand for the sites, places, rivers, latitudes, directions and other things that it contains.[48]

CHAPTER X

JOURNEY OF THE LAND EXPEDITION FROM SAN DIEGO TO MONTEREY

Diary and Itinerary of the Expedition from the Port of San Diego de Alcalá to that of Monterey, Leaving on the 14th of July, 1769

Friday, July 14, 1769.—We set out from this port of San Diego on this day of the seraphic doctor, San Buenaventura, about four in the afternoon. We went northwest, over level land well covered with grass on account of the proximity of the estuaries, which have good salt deposits. Afterwards we came upon the beach of the second harbor that San Diego has, although it is closed, so that it cannot be entered.* On some parts of the road there are rosemary and other small bushes not known to us, and on the right hand we have a mountain range, moderately high, bare of trees, of pure earth well covered with grass. We saw many hares and rabbits, for this port abounds in them. At about two leagues we came to a very large village of heathen who are in a valley formed by this second harbor

* Now False Bay. The village was near the northeast point of the bay.

where there are some small springs of water. We called this spot the Village of the Springs of the Rinconada de San Diego. As soon as the heathen saw us approaching they all came out into the road, men, women and children, as though they came to welcome us, with signs of great pleasure. We gave them such presents as we could.

Here we left the shore, and entered a valley between hills but on the same road. It has many willows and some alders and live[49] oaks, and we understood from the heathen of the preceding village that in this valley there were some small pools of good water, and we believed it to be so because it was so green. Although the valley is not very broad it is well covered with grass, and on all sides of it there are knolls, ridges, and hills, all of good land. We found small pools, which contained water enough for the people but the horses had nothing to drink. After traveling two hours and three quarters, in which we must have covered about two and a half leagues, we stopped and made camp near the little ponds which we called the Pools of the Valley of San Diego.* As soon as we arrived at this place, it being already dark, the heathen came. They brought[50] some very large sardines, and one of them made a long speech, after which the governor and the captain accepted the sardines, reciprocating with beads and some clothing, with which they left in great good humor. Day's march, two leagues and a half.

* Camp was not far from Ladrillo.

Saturday, July 15.—About half-past eight in the morning we left the place, following the same direction to the northwest. We ascended a large grassy hill, all of pure earth, and then found ourselves on some very broad mesas of good soft ground, all covered with grass, not having encountered a stone since leaving San Diego nor any other trees than those spoken of in the preceding valley, except that here and there we saw some very small oaks and chaparral. We saw seven antelopes running together on this mesa and at every moment hares and rabbits came running out. After about a league and a half of travel we came to a very beautiful valley, which, when we saw it, seemed to us to be nothing less than a cultivated cornfield or farm, on account of its mass of verdure. On a small eminence in this valley we saw a village of heathen, with six little straw houses. Upon seeing us, all of them came out into the road, in great good humor and making demonstrations of joy. We descended to this valley and saw that its verdure consisted of very leafy wild calabashes, and many Castilian roses. These heathen have near their village a pool of water in an arroyo.

This valley runs from southeast to northwest, and is about one league long and some four hundred varas wide, all of good pasture,[51] with some live oaks and alders. We called it the valley of Santa Isabel, Queen of Portugal.* We stopped a little while so that the commander might distribute some beads among the heathen of this village, and then continued

* Soledad Valley, near Sorrento.

on our way to the north side of the valley, with a heathen of the village who voluntarily offered to accompany us to the camping place. In about half a league's travel, at the end of the valley we came to a medium-sized pool of fresh water, in which we saw two pots of baked clay, very well made. Here we turned into a valley which lies to the north and traveled through it, over level land well covered with grass, from which we saw another valley better than the preceding, and went down to it. We pitched camp near a large pool of good, fresh water, which the soldiers called the Well of Ozuna, and which we called the valley of San Jacome de la Marca,* asking that saint to intercede with the Most High for the conversion of its heathen natives, and that a mission might be formed here, with him as its patron, since the site is apparently very suitable and invites it. The march this day covered three and one-half leagues.

The valley must measure about one league from north to south and about half a league from east to west; all the land is level, very verdant, with much pasture, many wild grapes, and other herbs. To the south of this valley there are three large pools, and to the north, according to the story of the explorers, there is a very verdant arroyo, and some other very large pools. Near the southern pools, on a slope, there is a large village of heathen and many well built houses with grass roofs. As soon as we arrived about eighteen heathen came to visit us, with their

* San Dieguito Canyon, near Del Mar.

women and children, all very affable and not at all noisy. It seems that this place is near the sea, judging by our view of it as we came down the valley. The hills that surround this valley are not very high, and are all of pure earth, covered with pasture, the only thing lacking to the site being trees. Many scorpions have been seen, but no one has been bitten by them. Day's march, three and a half leagues.

Sunday, July 16.—On this day we two fathers celebrated the holy sacrifice of the Mass, which was heard by all the people, and at half-past two in the afternon we set out north and northwest, traversing the entire plain; then we climbed a bare hill which followed soon afterwards, with a small wood of little trees unknown to us, and some chaparral. Passing over it, we came out upon some broad grassy mesas, and in about two leagues and a half we descended to a very green valley, with good level land covered with alders. In this valley we came across a village of heathen who, as soon as they saw us, all came running to us, in great good humor. They showed us a little pool of water that was there for their use, and we understood that they were asking us to remain; but, as this was not the spot the explorers had picked out for the camping place, we stopped only a little while. The commander gave some beads to the chiefs, and in passing we called this place the Valley of the Triumph of the Holy Cross, to which we prayed.*

* Apparently San Elijo Lagoon.

We proceeded on our way, accompanied by all the heathen, who told us that farther on there was another small watering place. In about half a league we came to another little valley with many live oaks, where we found[52] a small stream of water, which ran a short way in the midst of some blackberry bushes, where we found another village which had only six women. We saw that they had some pots and jugs of baked clay, well made. We called this place the Spring of the Valley of Los Encinos. Then followed extensive hills, with good land and pasture. After about one more league of travel we descended to another very green valley, with good black soil, and from this we entered still another, very green and with good land well covered with grass. In the last valley we made camp near a hill which has two springs of water, one on one side of the hill which had about a limón of water, and one on the other side with about one finger of running water, from which, by digging it out a little, the animals could drink. Both springs are surrounded by Castilian roses, of which I gathered a branch with six roses open and twelve about to open. Right after this valley there comes another, with a village of heathen. As soon as they saw the camp made, the whole village, which was composed of eight men, three women, and four children, came down. Their chief made us a harangue, and when it was concluded they sat down as though they had always known us. One of the heathen came smoking a pipe of black clay, well made. We called this place San

Alejo.* The day's march occupied four full hours, and we must have covered about four leagues. On the following day I observed our latitude and it proved to be thirty-three degrees, exactly.

Monday, July 17.—At three in the afternoon we left the camp, following the valley in a northerly direction. In a little while we climbed a very grassy hill without rocks, in open country, then traveled over mesas that are in part covered with grass and in part by a grove of young oaks, rosemary, and other shrubs not known to us. Aside from this all the land is well covered with grass and is mellow. After traveling about a league we descended to a valley full of alders, in which we saw a village, but without people. In passing we named this valley San Simón Lipnica.† It is not very far from the shore, and at the end of it we saw an estuary, although the sea was not visible. We continued on our way in the same northerly direction, over hills and broad mesas supplied with good pasture, and after about one more league's travel we descended to a small, very green valley, which has a narrow plain some fifty varas wide. We pitched camp on the slope of the valley on the west side. The water is collected in pools, and we noticed that it flowed out of several springs, forming about it marshes, or stagnant pools, covered with rushes and grass. We named this place Santa Sinforosa.‡ We saw from the camp a village of heathen on the summit of

* Batequitos Lagoon. † Agua Hedionda Creek.
‡ Buena Vista Creek, near Carlsbad.

a hill, who, having been informed by their neighbors of San Alejo, deputed two of their number to ask permission to visit us. They were given to understand by signs that they must put it off until the following day, as it was late, but, as soon as they went back to their village all its inhabitants came to camp. Not fewer than forty presented themselves. As soon as they arrived their leader made his speech, with excellent gestures; but without waiting for him to finish his harangue, he and his people were given some beads and dismissed. The next morning they returned and remained until our departure.

Tuesday, July 18.—A little after three in the afternoon we set out to the north. We climbed a hill of good soil, all covered with grass, and then went on over hills of the same kind of land and pasture. We must have traveled about two short leagues, when we descended to a large and beautiful valley, so green that it seemed to us that it had been planted. We crossed it straight to the north and pitched camp near a large pool of water, one of several in the plain. At the extremities or ends of the plain there are two large villages.

Soon after our arrival the heathen came to visit us. There were more than forty Indians, naked and painted from head to foot in several colors, which is their usual custom when they go visiting or to war. They all came armed with bows and arrows, and their chief made the accustomed harangue. When it was concluded they threw their arms on

the ground and sat down near us. The governor took out some beads, and, giving half of them to me, requested that we two should distribute them among the Indians. They gave the governor a present of a few fish nets made of thread that they make out of some fiber which, when it is spun, looks like raw hemp. Behind the men followed the women and children, who numbered more than fifty, but they did not dare to come near. We made signs to them not to be afraid, and after one of the heathen spoke to them they came at once, and we gave them also presents of beads.

The women were modestly covered, wearing in front an apron of threads woven together which came to the knees, and a deerskin behind. To cover the breasts they wear little capes made of hare and rabbit skins, of which they make strips and twist them like rope. They sew these strips together, to protect them from the cold as well as for covering for modesty's sake. Most of the women go clothed in the same manner, but all the men go as naked as Adam in Paradise before he sinned, and they did not feel the least shame in presenting themselves before us, nor did they make any movement to cover themselves, just as though the clothing given them by nature were some fine garment.

This valley must be about two leagues long from northeast to southwest, and about half a league wide in the narrowest place. To the southwest it ends on the beach, which must be about half a league distant from the camp, although there is a hill which

prevents us from seeing the ocean. We found no running water, although we saw three arroyos which are dry and apparently run only when it rains. There are, indeed, pools of good water, with tules on the banks. The valley is all green with good grass, and has many wild grapes, and one sees some spots that resemble vineyards. I gave this valley the name of San Juan Capistrano, for a mission,* so that this glorious saint, who in life converted so many souls, may pray God in heaven for the conversion of these poor heathen. Next morning the Indians came back, and my companion, taking up the image of the Holy Christ, spoke to them by signs about God and Jesus Christ crucified, and about heaven and hell, and they showed that they understood some of it, and looked remorseful and sighed. But, although they saw that the two fathers, the commander, and all the officers venerated the images of Christ, and we told them to do the same, and with this object raised it to their mouths, they were never willing to kiss it, but drew back and pushed it away with their hands. But this was attributed to their lack of knowledge and their failure to understand what we told them. I observed the latitude and it was thirty-three degrees and six minutes. The march from the last place covered about two short leagues.

Wednesday,[53] July 19.—On this day we halted, in order to give Sergeant Don José Francisco Ortega

* San Luís Rey Mission was founded near the site several years later.

time to go with seven soldiers to explore for the next marches, while we entertained ourselves with the heathen, who did not leave us the whole day. There were more than two dozen of them together in the camp.

Thursday, July 20.—We set out about seven in the morning, which dawned cloudy, and, taking the road straight to the north, we traveled by a valley about one league long, with good land, grassy, and full of alders. This passed, we ascended a little hill and entered upon some mesas covered with dry grass, in parts burned by the heathen for the purpose of hunting hares and rabbits, which live there in abundance. In some places there are clumps of wild prickly pear and some rosemary. A league and a half from the camping place we saw another beautiful green valley, well grown with alders and other smaller trees. On going down to it we saw a lagoon which the explorers said was salt water. We pitched camp in this valley near a pool of fresh water; the reason for stopping, although the march has only covered a league and a half, is because, since the departure from San Diego, we have had on the right a very high mountain range, and we are now apparently going to meet it, and it is necessary to explore it before crossing it, for it seems as though it is going to end on the beach. The pool of water, which I just saw, is more than a hundred varas in length, and its water is very clear and good. Besides this one the explorers say that lower down

in the arroyo from the north, there are some more pools, and that a good stream of water runs from them, and they have good lands on which crops might be raised by irrigation. According to this, the place is better suited for a town than the preceding. Because we arrived at this place on the day of Santa Margarita, we christened it with the name of this holy virgin and martyr. As soon as we arrived the heathen of the village, and counting men, women and children, they made not less than sixty, who have their town on the same plain, came to the camp. We gave them presents of beads and sent them off.*

Friday, July 21.—We set out in the morning toward the northwest, because the mountains prevented us from going north. We climbed a hill which has some stones, near the valley from which we had emerged, and from the height we saw the valley of Santa Margarita, which extends more than a league from north to south. We went on over hills of moderate height, all grassy, and halted near the water, which is in the grass, so that we could not judge whether or not it was running. What we did see was a great deal of water, and that the spot was full of grape vines and innumerable Castilian rosebushes and other flowers. For this reason it was called the Valley of Santa Praxedis de los Rosales.†

* Camp was near Home Ranch. This camp and the next are commemorated in the name of Santa Margarita y Las Flores Rancho.

† Las Pulgas Canyon.

Very near there we found a small village from which three men immediately came to visit us, with eleven women and some children. We entertained them, and the captain gave them some beads. This valley has a width of about a quarter of a league, but in parts it narrows more and more; its length runs from northeast to southwest. To the north-northeast it comes to a high mountain range,* which is distant about a league and a half from the spot where the camp was pitched. In that direction there are many live oaks, and the same on the skirts of the mountains. To the southwest it seems that there is a valley which extends to the beach, although it cannot be made out. From this place I observed the latitude, and it was thirty-three degrees and ten minutes. The day's march was about two leagues.

Saturday, July 22.—This day dawned cloudy for us. About seven o'clock we set out west and climbed a grassy hill. In a little while we entered a valley which turned to the north-northwest, and which communicates with that of Los Rosales. We traveled in the mountains, for they are not rough but open, with hills and extensive mesas, covered with a great deal of grass and grown with live oaks and alders, especially in the little valleys and arroyos, with an abundance of Castilian roses. Three mesas covered with large live oaks were encountered. About eleven o'clock we came to a pool of water, after having traveled some four leagues from the preceding place. This pool of fresh water is in a dry arroyo, which

* Santa Margarita Range.

is grown with many alders. We made camp near the pool, and immediately about fourteen heathen, and as many women, with boys and girls, came and showed themselves to be very friendly; we entertained them and made them gifts.

The explorers informed us that on the preceding day they saw in the village two sick little girls. After asking the commander for some soldiers to go with us to visit them we went, and we found one which the mother had at her breast apparently dying. We asked for it, saying that we wished to see it, but it was impossible to get it from its mother. So we said to her by signs that we would not do it any harm, but wished to sprinkle its head, so that if it died it might go to heaven. She consented to this, and my companion, Fray Francisco Gómez, baptized it, giving it the name of María Magdalena. We went then to the other, also small, who had been burned and was apparently about to die. In the same way I baptized it, giving it the name of Margarita. We did not doubt that both would die and go to heaven. With this, the only success that we have obtained, we fathers consider well worth while the long journey and the hardships that are being suffered in it and that are still awaiting us. May it all be for the greater glory of God and the salvation of souls. For this reason this place is known to the soldiers as Los Christianos; I named it San Apolinario; others called it Valley of Los Bautismos.*

* Now Cristianitos Canyon, north of San Onofre.

Sunday, July 23.—After we two had said Mass we started at seven o'clock, going to the north-northwest. On leaving this place we ascended a large hill, not very rough and all of pure earth, covered with dry grass. Having gone through the pass[54] we went on over mesas, hills, valleys, and dry arroyos, ascending and descending, all the land being well covered with grass. We passed two valleys with two dry arroyos, both grown with alders and large live oaks. In one of the valleys we found a village of heathen, who, as soon as they saw us began to shout; and they came out, as if to meet us at the watering place, where we went[55] to stop. We must have traveled this day about four leagues in the four hours on the road.

A little before eleven we came to a very pleasant green valley, full of willows, alders, live oaks, and other trees not known to us. It has a large arroyo, which at the point where we crossed it carried a good stream of fresh and good water, which, after running a little way, formed in pools in some large patches of tules. We halted there, calling it the valley of Santa María Magdalena.* In the journey of this day we came upon some deposits of fine red ochre, and some others of very white earth. They are on some hills near which we passed, and we inferred at once that from this earth the heathen

* Now San Juan Capistrano. The route from here was along the foothills east of the Santa Ana Valley, across La Puente Hills by La Habra to Bassett.

provide themselves for their paint, which is their gala dress for their visits and their war feasts. I observed the latitude of the valley of Santa María Magdalena, and found that we were in thirty-three degrees and fourteen minutes.

Monday, July 24.—We got up early this morning and broke camp at a quarter past six. Going north-northwest, we descended from the high hill on which we had stopped to a valley in the same direction. Before we left about nine heathen from a village in this valley allowed themselves to be seen. After traveling a short distance in it we came to two good villages, whose people were all very friendly. We greeted them in passing, and they made us their speech, of which we understood nothing. We traveled through this valley for about two leagues; it is of good land, but they had burned all the grass. From ridge to ridge it is about five hundred varas wide. After two leagues' travel we turned to the northwest, veering considerably to the west, in order to climb a high pass through a range of grass-covered hills;[56] and after traveling about a league over good mesas we descended to a pleasant arroyo, and a valley very full of large alders and live oaks, so that it looked like a fig orchard.

After about three hours on the road from the starting place, during which we must have traveled as many leagues, we pitched camp on a very long mesa of earth, which runs to the foot of a high mountain range, from which flows an arroyo of good

water.* Instantly the Indians from a village in the valley came to visit us. They came without arms, and with a friendliness unequaled; they made us presents of their poor seeds, and we made return with ribbons and gew-gaws. Nearly the whole day they remained with us, men, women and children; and these heathen listened with more attention to what we told them by signs, of God, of Jesus Christ, and of their salvation, and several times they devoutly venerated the Holy Christ and the cross of the crown.

The soldier explorers said that the preceding day, from the top of a hill, they made out six islands. Several of us went to the hill, but we saw only two, which they said must be San Clemente and Santa Catarina. The latter was just opposite us, and they said the bay of San Pedro must be about five leagues distant from our camp. Because we arrived at this place to-day, the day of San Francisco Solano, Apostle of America, we gave it his name, so that with his intercession the conversion of these docile heathen may be accomplished by founding for them on this spot a mission dedicated to him as patron, since the place and the docility of the heathen invite it, for I have made them say the acts of Faith, Hope, and Charity, and, without knowing what they did, they repeated it with devotion and tenderness, or at least their voices caused tenderness in my heart.

Tuesday, July 25.—This day we rested since it was that of the patron of our Spain, and we two

* Alisos Creek, near El Toro.

priests celebrated the holy sacrifice of the Mass. We had another visit from the heathen of this village. We observed that they have houses made of willows, and large baskets of reeds so tightly woven that they hold water. They have given us to understand that in the interior there are people like us, who are clothed the same, and that the soldiers carry swords and wear hats, and that they have horses and mules, pointing to those that we have. God knows what truth there is in their talk, or if we misunderstood them. This place is in latitude thirty-three degrees and eighteen minutes.

Wednesday, July 26.—On this day we celebrated the holy sacrifice of the Mass, which was heard by all the people, and about three in the afternoon we set out, with the object of breaking the next day's march, which was long, according to the report of the explorers. At first we went northwest, making our way through a valley full of wild grapes and Castilian roses. All the valleys and the hills on both sides are of pure earth, well covered with grass, and without a single stone. So we went on over very open country, with hills and broad mesas, ascending and descending through three or four little valleys of good soil well grown with alders. After traveling two hours and a half we entered a large plain. At the beginning of it we pitched camp near a dry lagoon on a slope, from which we examined the spacious plain, the end of which we could not see.[57] Near the camp some verdure was to be seen, and when the father companion approached it he found

two small springs of water, clear and good, for which reason the soldiers called this spot the Springs of Father Gómez, and I christened it with the name of San Pantaleón.*

Thursday, July 27.—About six in the morning we set out, crossing the plain and continuing to the northwest. We halted after three leagues' travel near an arroyo of running water, although it was evident that it was diminishing because of the drought, and little by little the waters were being absorbed by the sand. It has willows, grapevines, brambles, and other bushes. It comes down from the mountains, and shows that it must have plenty of water in the rainy season. It was given the name of the holy apostle and patron of the Spains, Santiago.† If this watering place should remain throughout the year, it would be a site for building a city, on account of the large amount of land and the extensive plain that the arroyo has on both sides. We saw only two heathen near the camp. I observed the latitude, and it is thirty-three degrees and thirty-six minutes.[58]

Friday, July 28.—About seven in the morning we set out, continuing our way to the northwest along the skirts of the mountains which we have on the right, to the north, and after traveling a league and a half we came to the banks of a river which has a bed of running water about ten varas wide

* In the Santiago Hills east of Tuston.

† Still called Santiago Creek. Camp was in the hills northeast of Orange.

and half a vara deep. It is not at all boxed in by banks. Its course is from northeast to southwest, and it empties through this place, according to the judgment of those who sailed to the bay of San Pedro. It apparently has its source in the range that we have in sight on the right, about three leagues from the road that we are following. The bed of the river is well grown with sycamores, alders, willows, and other trees which we have not recognized. It is evident from the sand on its banks that in the rainy season it must have great floods which would prevent crossing it. It has a great deal of good land which can easily be irrigated.

We pitched camp on the left bank of this river. On its right bank there is a populous village of Indians, who received us with great friendliness. Fifty-two of them came to the camp, and their chief told us by signs which we understood very well that we must come to live with them; that they would make houses for us, and provide us with food, such as antelope, hares, and seeds. They urged us to do this, telling us that all the land we saw, and there was certainly a great deal of it, was theirs, and that they would divide it with us. We told him that we would return and would gladly remain to live with them, and when the chief understood it he was so affected that he broke into tears. The governor made them a present of some beads and a small silk handkerchief, and in gratitude the chief gave us two baskets of seeds, already made into pinole, together with a string of beads made of shells

such as they wear. I called this place the sweet name of Jesús de los Temblores, because we experienced here a horrifying earthquake, which was repeated four times during the day. The first, which was the most violent, happened at one in the afternoon, and the last one about four. One of the heathen who were in the camp, who doubtless exercised among them the office of priest, alarmed at the occurrence no less than we, began with frightful cries and great demonstrations of fear to entreat heaven, turning to all the winds. This river is known to the soldiers as the Santa Ana.*

Saturday, July 29.—At two in the afternoon we set out from this place and crossed the river with great difficulty, on account of the swiftness of its current, and followed the plain to the northwest. Near the river the mountains have many prickly pears and much sage, but afterwards all the land continues fertile and is well covered with good grass. After traveling a short distance we turned to the north-northwest, and after marching a league and a half we again turned to the northwest, in order to ascend the nearest mountain range, which was now very low and comes to an end to the west-northwest. We climbed a medium-sized hill, quite steep, and descended to a very green little valley, which has a small pool of water, on whose bank there is a very large village of very friendly heathen.

* Still called by the same name. Camp was near Olive, east of Anaheim.

We made camp on a hill near the pool which has good grass for pasture. As soon as we arrived the whole village, which numbered more than seventy[59] souls, came to visit us. They invited us to go to stay at the village, but, in order not to be incommoded we remained on the hill, at the foot of which there is a beautiful valley of many leagues of good land. But the place has no water except the pool, which was only enough for the people, for which reason the animals were left without drinking. This afternoon's march occupied two hours, during which we traveled about two leagues. The place was known by the name of Santa Marta.* The Indians of this village were having a feast and dance, to which they had invited their neighbors of the river called Jesús de los Temblores.

Sunday, July 30.—After we two priests had celebrated Mass with all the people present, we started about seven and descended the hill, continuing to the north-northwest. We crossed the large plain, which has an extent of more than four leagues. To the west,[60] far away, it seemed to communicate with the preceding valley, and in that direction some mountains were seen, with many trees at their base. Crosing the plain, we ascended a pass† and entered a valley of very large live oaks and alders. We then descended to a broad and spacious plain of fine black earth, with much grass, although we found it burned. After traveling for an hour through the valley we

* La Brea Canyon, north of Fullerton.

† La Habra, the pass across Puente Hills.

came to an arroyo of water which flows among many green marshes, their banks covered with willows and grapes, blackberries, and innumerable Castilian rosebushes loaded with roses. In the midst of the verdure runs a good channel of water which when measured was found to have a volume of three quarters of a square yard. It runs along the foot of the mountains, and can be easily used to irrigate the large area of good land that the valley has. The valley has a length from north to south of about three leagues, and is surrounded by ranges of hills. The one to the north is very high and dark and has many corrugations, and seems to run farther to the west.[61] The others are not so high and they run from east to west. The plain must be about six leagues long. We camped near the arroyo of running water, whose banks were covered with watercress[62] of which we ate. This valley was named San Miguel Arcángel*. The camp is about four leagues from the former one, and that is the distance we have marched to-day. In the afternoon we felt another earthquake. I observed the latitude and found it to be thirty-three degrees and thirty-four minutes. In order to cross the arroyo it was necessary to make a bridge of poles, because it was so miry.

Monday, July 31.—At seven in the morning we set out and went west-northwest. We traveled about two leagues through brush and low woods, which delayed us for a long time, making it necessary to

* San Gabriel River now. Camp was near Bassett.

cut the brush down at every step that was taken. We crossed a very miry arroyo of running water,* and halted a little farther on in a clear open space, in the same valley and near a pass that was seen to the west. At half-past eight in the morning we felt another earthquake. We traveled about three and a half leagues.

* Lexington Wash, near El Monte. Camp was south of Mission San Gabriel.

CHAPTER XI

MARCH MADE BY THE EXPEDITION IN THE MONTH OF AUGUST

Tuesday, August 1.—This day was one of rest, for the purpose of exploring, and especially to celebrate the jubilee of Our Lady of Los Angeles de Porciúncula. We both said Mass and the men took communion, performing the obligations to gain the great indulgence. At ten in the morning the earth trembled. The shock was repeated with violence at one in the afternoon, and one hour afterwards we experienced another. The soldiers went out this afternoon to hunt, and brought an antelope, with which animals this country abounds; they are like wild goats, but have horns rather larger than goats. I tasted the roasted meat, and it was not bad. To-day I observed the latitude[63] and it came out for us thirty-four degrees and ten minutes north latitude.

Wednesday, August 2.—We set out from the valley in the morning and followed the same plain in a westerly direction. After traveling about a league and a half through a pass between low hills, we entered a very spacious valley, well grown with cottonwoods and alders, among which ran a beautiful river from the north-northwest, and then, doubling

the point of a steep hill, it went on afterwards to the south. Toward the north-northeast there is another river bed which forms a spacious water-course, but we found it dry. This bed unites with that of the river, giving a clear indication of great floods in the rainy season, for we saw that it had many trunks of trees on the banks. We halted not very far from the river, which we named Porciúncula.* Here we felt three consecutive earthquakes in the afternoon and night. We must have traveled about three leagues to-day. This plain where the river runs is very extensive. It has good land for planting all kinds of grain and seeds, and is the most suitable site of all that we have seen for a mission, for it has all the requisites for a large settlement. As soon as we arrived about eight heathen from a good village came to visit us; they live in this delightful place among the trees on the river. They presented us with some baskets of pinole made from seeds of sage and other grasses. Their chief brought some strings of beads made of shells, and they threw us three handfuls of them. Some of the old men were smoking pipes well made of baked clay and they puffed at us three mouthfuls of smoke. We gave them a little tobacco and glass beads, and they went away well pleased.

Thursday, August 3.—At half-past six we left the camp and forded the Porciúncula River, which

* Los Angeles River, where Los Angeles now stands. The dry river bed to the north was Arroyo Seco. Camp was probably near Downey Avenue.

runs down from the valley, flowing through it from the mountains into the plain. After crossing the river we entered a large vineyard of wild grapes and an infinity of rosebushes in full bloom. All the soil is black and loamy, and is capable of producing every kind of grain and fruit which may be planted. We went west, continually over good land well covered with grass. After traveling about half a league we came to the village of this region, the people of which, on seeing us, came out into the road. As they drew near us they began to howl like wolves; they greeted us and wished to give us seeds, but as we had nothing at hand in which to carry them we did not accept them. Seeing this, they threw some handfuls of them on the ground and the rest in the air. We traveled over another plain for three hours, during which we must have gone as many leagues. In the same plain we came across a grove of very large alders, high and thick, from which flows a stream of water about a buey in depth. The banks were grassy and covered with fragrant herbs and watercress. The water flowed afterwards in a deep channel towards the southwest. All the land that we saw this morning seemed admirable to us. We pitched camp near the water. This afternoon we felt new earthquakes, the continuation of which astonishes us. We judge that in the mountains that run to the west in front of us there are some volcanoes, for there are many signs on the road which stretches between the Porciúncula River and the Spring of the Alders, for

the explorers saw some large marshes of a certain substance like pitch; they were boiling and bubbling, and the pitch came out mixed with an abundance of water. They noticed that the water runs to one side and the pitch to the other, and that there is such an abundance of it that it would serve to caulk many ships. This place where we stopped is called the Spring of the Alders of San Estévan.*

Friday, August 4.—At half-past six in the morning we set out from the camp, following the plain to the northwest. At a quarter of a league we came to a little valley between small hills, and continued over plains of level land, very black and with much pasturage. After two hours' travel, during which we must have covered about two leagues, we stopped at the watering place, which consists of two little springs that rise at the foot of a higher mesa. From each of the two springs runs a small stream of water which is soon absorbed; they are both full of watercress and innumerable bushes of Castilian roses. We made camp near the springs, where we found a good village of very friendly and docile Indians, who, as soon as we arrived, came to visit us, bringing their present of baskets of sage and other seeds, small, round nuts with a hard shell, and large and very sweet acorns. They made me a present of some strings of beads of white and red shells which resemble coral, though not very fine; we reciprocated with glass beads. I understood that they were ask-

* Ballena Creek, west of Ciénega. The springs of pitch were the asphalt beds at La Brea. Guinn here translates *Alisos* as *Sycamores*.

ing us if we were going to stay, and I said "No," that we were going farther on.[64] I called this place San Gregorio, but to the soldiers the spot is known as the Springs of El Berrendo, because they caught a deer alive there, it having had a leg broken the preceding afternoon by a shot fired by one of the volunteer soldiers, who could not overtake it. The water is in a hollow surrounded by low hills not far from the sea.*

Saturday, August 5.—This day we set out about two in the afternoon, going north, as the explorers said that at the beach the mountains were steep and did not permit passage, so we veered somewhat to the northwest, where we saw that there was a pass in the mountains.† We entered it by a canyon formed by steep hills on both sides, but at the end of it they were more accessible and permitted us to take the slope and ascend, though with difficulty, to the top, whence we saw a very pleasant and spacious valley. We descended to it and stopped close to the watering place, which is a very large pool. Near it we found a large village of heathen, very friendly and docile; they offered us their seeds in baskets and other things made of rushes. There were so many that if more of them had come with arms it would have caused us some suspicion, for we counted more than two hundred, men, women, and children. Each of them brought some food with

* Northwest of Soldiers' Home. The explorers reached the beach west of Santa Monica (Costansó).

† Apparently Sepulveda Canyon.

which to regale us, and we reciprocated with beads and ribbons. The journey covered three leagues, and we gave to this plain the name of Valley of Santa Catalina de Bononia de los Encinos.* It is nearly three leagues wide and more than eight long. It has on its hills and in its valleys many live oaks and walnuts, though small. I took the latitude and it was thirty-four degrees and thirty-seven minutes.

Sunday, August 6.—This day we both said Mass, which was attended by everybody, and then we rested, receiving innumerable visits from heathen who came to see us from different parts. They had heard of the sailing of the packets to the coast and channel of Santa Bárbara; they drew on the ground the shape of the channel with its islands, marking the route of the ships. They told us also that in other times bearded people, clothed and armed as they saw the soldiers, had come into their country, motioning that they had come from the east. One of them said he had been to their countries and had seen their towns formed of large houses, and that each family occupied its own. He added, besides, that in a few days' march, about seven or eight leagues to the north, we would come to a great river which ran between rough mountains and could not be forded, and that farther on we would see the ocean, which would prevent us from going on in this direction. The information gave us some

* San Fernando Valley. Camp was near Encino.

anxiety, but we put it off to be settled by our own eyes; therefore we are going to continue our journey with our most holy patron San José.

Monday, August 7.—A little before three in the afternoon we set out to the north and crossed the plain, which is about three leagues wide, and went to camp at the foot of the mountains in a very green valley grown with large live oaks and alders. The water was sufficient for the animals though not over abundant; it runs among rushes and reeds.*

Tuesday, August 8.—About half-past six in the morning we left the place and traveled through the same valley, approaching the mountains. Following their course about half a league, we ascended by a sharp ridge to a high pass, the ascent and descent of which was painful, the descent being made on foot because of the steepness. Once down we entered a small valley† in which there was a village of heathen, who had already sent messengers to us at the valley of Santa Catalina de Bononia to guide us and show us the best road and pass through the mountains. These poor Indians had many provisions ready to receive us. Seeing that it was our intention to go on in ordèr not to lose the march, they urgently insisted that we should go to their village, which was some distance off the road; and we were obliged to consent in order not to displease them. We enjoyed their good will and their presents, which consisted of some baskets of pinole, made of sage

* San Fernando Valley northwest of Mission San Fernando.

† Over Fernando Pass to Newhall.

and other kinds of grasses, and at the side of these baskets they had others for us to drink from. They gave us also nuts and acorns, and were presented with beads in return. They furnished some other guides to accompany us; and we went on by the same valley, arriving late at the watering place, after a march of about four leagues.

The country from the village to the watering place is delightful and beautiful in the plain, although the mountains that surround it are bare and rough. In the plain we saw many tall and thick cottonwoods and oaks; the watering place consists of an arroyo with a great deal of water which runs in a moderately wide valley, well grown with willows and cottonwoods. We stopped on the bank of the arroyo, where we found a populous village in which the people lived without any cover, for they had no more than a light shelter fenced in like a corral.* For this reason the soldiers called it Ranchería del Corral, and I called it Santa Rosa de Viterbo, that this saint might be protector for the conversion of these Indians. As soon as we arrived they gave us many baskets of different kinds of seeds, and a sort of sweet preserve like little raisins, and another resembling honeycomb, very sweet and purging, and made of the dew which sticks to the reed grass. It is a very suitable site for a mission, with much good land, many palisades, two very large arroyos of water, and five large villages close together.

* Santa Clara River, near Castac, Los Angeles County.

Wednesday, August 9.—This was a day of rest, in order to give an opportunity to the explorers to go and explore along the beach, for we had this high mountain range in sight, and we understood from the heathen that this is not the only one, but that in the direction that we are traveling there are four others, more rugged, and afterwards a large river which they say we cannot ford, and which runs to the sea; and that when we reach it we will have to turn back. All this day we had visits from these good Indians, who brought us their presents of pinole, nuts, and preserves. They begged us to remain with them, and I told them that we would return, with which they were delighted. One of the heathen who visited us here recognized Father Gómez and gave him an embrace, telling him by signs that he was a coast Indian, and that he had already seen him on the bark from the shore; he also recognized Señor Fages and Señor Constanzó. This day we observed the latitude, and it was thirty-four degrees and forty-seven minutes.

The explorers came back in the afternoon with the report that the good road still continued through the valley, and that it was quite possible to go by way of the beach. This charming valley, which begins after descending from the pass, I named Santa Clara. We found here a populous village, and the heathen wished to detain us, for they had prepared refreshments for us. We perceived that they were having a wedding, and they showed us

the bride, who was the most dressed up among them all in the way she was painted and with her strings of beads. From here on the women begin to wear more decent clothing, for in the place of aprons they wear deerskins from the waist down, which serve as skirts, and little capes of rabbit skin to cover the rest of the body.

Thursday, August 10.—This day of San Lorenzo, after we two priests had said Mass and all the people had heard it, we set out at eight in the morning, following the valley west-southwest, and also the arroyo, which runs with a good stream of water, and has banks well grown with cottonwoods, live oaks, and willows. The land continues good, with plenty of grass, and is of large extent. The mountains on either side are very high and bare, but abundantly covered with grass. On the summits are seen some live oaks and pines. The range is very steep.

After three leagues' march we stopped in the same valley on the banks of the arroyo, and found ourselves here without any village.* The place was given the same name mentioned yesterday, Cañada de Santa Clara. On arriving we found that the arroyo was flowing with plenty of water, but a little while afterwards we observed that it had dried up with the heat of the sun, sinking into the sand, of which it has a great deal in the large bed, which resembles a river. This peculiarity struck us, and

* Near Camulos Rancho.

we observed afterwards that other arroyos ran at night and dried up[65] by day. We noticed in this valley that the earth was very spongy, insecure, and whitish, and that the animals sank in at every step.

Friday, August 11.—At half-past six in the morning we set out from this arroyo, going west-southwest and following the valley. After traveling a little distance we observed that the arroyo broke off, sinking into the sand in its bed. We traveled about three leagues by the same valley, and stopped in the neighborhood of a very populous village on the bank of another arroyo with much running water, which comes out of the mountains through a narrow canyon and empties into this valley of Santa Clara, which in this place seems to have a greater width. The people of this village have no other protection than a large brush shelter inside a big corral.

In the afternoon seven chiefs came to visit us with a numerous following of Indians with bows and arrows, but carrying the bow-strings loose, which is a sign of peace. They brought us an abundant present of seeds, acorns, walnuts, and pine-nuts, which they spread out before us. The chiefs, having learned who was in charge, offered to the commander, to us, and to the officers, several necklaces of little stones, white, black, and red, whose texture and material was similar to coral. There must have been more than five hundred of the heathen; the governor gave them some beads. The place was named Santa Clara, since the valley continues, and

it is a very suitable site for a good mission, for it has all the requisites for it. It is six leagues from Santa Rosa, and ten from Santa Catalina de Bononia. I took the latitude and it was thirty-four degrees and thirty minutes. With the sage that the heathen gave us a mule was loaded with a good pack; the rest was divided among all the others.

Saturday, August 12.—We started at three in the afternoon on this day of Santa Clara from her place, and following the same valley in the direction of west-southwest, over a road broken by arroyos and gullies formed by the floods from the mountain ridges which empty through them in the rainy season, we stopped on the bank of one of them which carried plenty of water. After traveling about three leagues, near the camping place we came to a village of heathen, as friendly as the preceding, and as soon as we arrived they came with their baskets of pinole and pine-nuts. Beads were given them in return. We called this village San Pedro Amoliano, hoping that this saint may be patron of these people and bring them to baptism.*

Sunday, August 13.—After we two said Mass, attended by the men, we left the place about eight in the morning through the same valley, which continues to the southwest and is now widening out. We traveled two hours, during which we must have made two leagues, and stopped near a village of heathen a short distance from an arroyo which we

* Near Fillmore.

would call at this point a river, as it is very wide and has a great deal of water running through it, formed no doubt by the many arroyos of the valley of Santa Clara. The village is composed of twenty houses made of grass, in a spherical form, like a half orange, with a vent at the top by which the light enters and the smoke goes out. I went with the father companion to see the river, which is not very far from the village. It seemed to us that the bed must have a width of fifty varas of sand and about eighteen varas of running water, very shallow and on a level with the land of this great plain, which we saw extending far to the south; indeed, it seemed to us that the level land might reach as far as the shore. The heathen made us presents of their baskets of seeds, which were repaid with beads, and they went off well satisfied. We called this river and spot The Holy Martyrs,* Ipólito and Casiano. In the afternoon we felt two earthquakes.

Monday, August 14.—At seven in the morning we left the camp accompanied by three heathen who came to show us the next watering place. We followed the plain to the west-southwest, and after traveling about two hours and a half we arrived at the shore, where we saw a regular town, the most populous and best laid-out[66] of all that we had seen on the journey up to the present time. It is situated on a tongue or point of land running out on the same beach which stands so high

* Near Santa Paula.

that it seems to dominate the waters. We counted about thirty large and spacious houses of a spherical form, well constructed and roofed with grass. According to the number of people whom we saw and who came down to the camp, there were not less than four hundred souls.

They are of good figure and disposition, active, industrious, and inventive. They have surprising skill and ability[67] in the construction of their canoes, which are made of good pine planks, well joined and of a graceful shape, with two prows. They handle them with equal skill; three or four men go out into the open sea in them to fish, and they hold as many as ten men. They use long oars with two blades, and row with indescribable lightness and speed. All the things which they make are neat and well finished; and the most surprising thing is that they have no other tools for working the wood and stone than those made of flint, for they are ignorant of the use of iron and steel. Yet we saw among them some pieces of knives and sword blades, which they use for nothing but to cut meat and open the fish that they take from the sea. The soldiers traded beads with them in exchange for baskets, pebbles, and wooden plates which would not be more graceful[68] if they were turned with a wheel. They gave us a lot of fish, especially very savory bonito. Judging by the great abundance of it and the ease with which it was caught, this must be the season for it.

A short distance from the town we pitched camp near the bank of a river, the waters of which come in a deep bed from the mountains and reach the sea. To the north it runs through a valley which has good lands, so that they make good use of the abundance of water. In the afternoon some chiefs came from the mountains, having come from[69] their country purposely to see us. Some islanders from the Santa Bárbara Channel, who happened to be in this town, came also, and they told us that twelve canoes had gone to the islands to bring from there the people who wished to see us. I called this town La Asunción de Nuestra Señora,* and I hope that such a fine site, where nothing is lacking, will become a good mission through the intercession of this great lady. I observed the latitude and it came out for me thirty-four degrees and thirty-six minutes and for Señor Constanzó thirty-four degrees and thirteen minutes.

Tuesday, August 15.—We two priests said Mass, which everybody heard, and at two in the afternoon we set out, taking the road to the west along the edge of the sea. At the start we crossed the river, which gave us some trouble on account of the stones and the large amount of water which ran above them. We traveled about two leagues over the sand of the beach. The space between the sea and the rugged, bare mountains that we have on the right

* On the site of Mission San Buenaventura, and of the City of Ventura.

is in some parts broad and in others narrow, so narrow indeed that it gives no room to pass without trouble. After traveling two hours we stopped near a small village which had a few little grass houses. All the water they have is a small pool. There was a canoe, which might be seven varas long, in which they were fishing; the people of the village immediately called them and they came to land, with very many large fish.

The chief, with all his village, came to the camp with the fish and many seeds, which he gave to the governor, who returned the gift with his present of beads, and they were well pleased. They brought more food than all the people could eat. During the night they disturbed us and kept us awake playing all night[70] on some doleful pipes or whistles, which caused our sentinels to be more watchful. I named this village Santa Conefundis.*

Wednesday, August 16.—About half-past six we started, following the same road to the west, which is the direction in which the beach runs here, and after traveling two leagues we came to another town larger than Asunción, for we counted sixty houses, well built, and of the same construction as those of the first town. It has a fine arroyo of good running water which flows into the sea, although a little above, on account of a small eminence, it is dammed up and becomes a sort of estuary. Near the village there are no lands on the seashore except enough

* Santa Conefundis was near Pitas (Whistles) Point. The name has persisted.

for building the town. The hills in the neighborhood are of good soil and are covered with good grass. I do not know whether or not there may be an arroyo or plains above in the openings between the hills. It is necessary to explore the region, for if it has them it would be a good place for a mission. The Indians are very mild and friendly; we observed that they had seven canoes in the sea in which they were fishing.

As soon as we arrived all the people came to visit us, and brought us a great supply of roasted[71] fish to eat until the canoes should arrive with fresh ones. They soon landed on the beach, and in a little while afterwards they brought us an abundance of bonitos and perch, which they gave us in such quantities that we could have loaded the entire pack train if we had had any means of preparing and salting them. They gave us also fish dried without salt, which they do not use in their food. We carried the fish with us as a precaution, and it served us well during the journey. One of the chiefs of this town was at that of Asumpta when we passed, and was the one who took the most pains to show us attention. He is a man of good figure and regular physiognomy, and a great dancer, for which reason the soldiers named the place the Town of El Bailarín, while I called it Santa Clara de Monte Falco.* I took the latitude and found it to be thirty-four degrees and forty minutes. The bed of the

* Near Rincón Point, on Rincón Creek.

arroyo of this town is well grown with willows, cottonwoods, alders, and live oaks.

Thursday, August 17.—We set out from this place at half-past seven and followed the road to the west. We climbed some steep hills of good grassy land, which end at the beach in a steep declivity, although between them and the beach there is passage along the sand dunes. We must have traveled about half a league when we came to a point of land which, with the other at the town mentioned, make a little bay in the shore. On this point we found another very large town in which we counted thirty-eight houses of the kind already described, some of them so large that they house many families. At the edge of the town all the people were awaiting us, the number being no less than those at Asumpta. We went on to the village to greet them, and the commander gave the chief a present of some beads. We pitched the camp not very far from the village in a plain that must measure, from north to south, about a league of good, black soil, well covered with grass. From east to west it is four leagues long. The place has many willows, cottonwoods, alders, and some live oaks. It is well provided with firewood, and the high mountains that it has to the north seem to have a supply of wood in some parts but are bare in others.

Just about north an arroyo comes down. My companion went to see it, and he says it has a good stretch of water at the foot of the mountains. The

soldiers and explorers said there was another good village of heathen. Not far from the town we saw some springs of pitch. The Indians have many canoes, and at the time were building one, for which reason the soldiers named this town La Carpintería,* while I christened it with the name of San Roque. It is only one league distant from the last camping place. As soon as we arrived they brought us so many bonito fish—fresh, dried, and roasted—that they exceeded the gifts of the preceding towns. Opposite the place was seen an island, but on account of the fog it was impossible to make out with certainty what one it was.

Friday, August 18.—At seven in the morning we left the camp and followed the same plain in a westerly direction, along the beach. We were accompanied by the chief of the village from which we had just come, and by the chief of the town ahead, who came last night with the explorers, and, following his example, a crowd of Indians, all pleased and merry. After traveling one league we came to the ruins of a village. The heathen told us that about three months ago the Sierra Indians had come down to fight and had killed all the people; two leagues and a half from our starting place we found the ruins of another village which had suffered the same disaster. In these places there are springs of water which are used by these villages. On this march, which lasted four hours, we saw bear tracks.

* The present-day town of Carpintería is near the same site.

After four leagues' travel we came to a large village, much larger than the preceding, which is near a long point of land running into the sea. With some difficulty we crossed a large estuary which penetrates deeply into the land, passed near the village, and pitched camp about two gunshots from it. A short time after our arrival all the people came with a generous present of fish, which they brought in seven very large loads. The gift was reciprocated with beads, and they went away very happy. In a little while the canoes that were out fishing came in, and immediately all the people, old and young, returned with a present of fresh fish, making about four loads of this alone. With this present more than five hundred persons, of both sexes and all ages, came to the camp, and we had them visiting us nearly all day. Near the village there is a spring of good water, and near the camp we found a large lagoon which does not seem to be seasonal, but to have a spring in the center. The mesas of this place have many large live oaks. This town was called Laguna de la Concepción.* Observation of the latitude could not be made because the day was cloudy. The islands can be seen from here.

Saturday, August 19.—We set out to-day simply to separate ourselves from so many people. Going west over the mesas we descended to a dry arroyo, although it was full of alders and live oaks. Another plain of good black soil follows, and we stopped

* Now Santa Bárbara. The lagoon lies east of the city.

there, having traveled no more than half a league. Withdrawing from the beach, which was steep and bordered with high hills, we halted in a valley which had running water, although the sand absorbs it. Not far from its source is the valley, covered with live oaks and alders, and on the summits there are some pines. The people of a village came to visit us, and no doubt they live near. The soldier explorers who went out this morning came back this afternoon with the report that they had found large settlements containing many people, and that they gave them a good reception. At night ten unarmed heathen came to this camp and offered to guide us in the morning to their village. They were permitted to remain for the rest of the night a little apart from the camp, a guard being placed to keep them company and entertain them until morning.

Sunday, August 20.—At eight in the morning after Mass we set out, following the plain in a westerly direction, and traveling on level land between the mountains and some hills which extend along the coast. It is all good land, with much grass, and well grown with live oaks, alders, and willows, and many Castilian roses. We traveled about three leagues and came in sight of a long bare point of land. On the west a large estuary enters by two different mouths distant half a league from each other; the estuary is bordered on the north by a good piece of land of moderate extent, entirely isolated. On that island,* which is very green and

* Mescal Island, which preserves the name Mescaltilán.

covered with trees, we saw a large town, in which were counted more than a hundred houses. This estuary spreads out to the west, forming many marshes and lagoons upon whose banks there are other towns, but we could not learn with certainty how many there were. Nevertheless, some of our soldiers said there were four, making with that of the island five, the latter appearing to be the largest.

We passed through the middle of one of these towns to go to the watering place, near which the camp was made. In a little while the heathen from the towns came with roasted and fresh fish, seeds, acorns, atole, and other kinds of food; they urged us to eat, showing in their faces the pleasure that our coming and stay in their land caused them. The governor made them presents of beads and ribbon, with which they were much pleased, and the soldiers traded with them and obtained various curios, such as baskets, feather headdresses and skins. The whole country along[72] the road, as well as that which is to be seen from the camp, is extremely delightful, abounding in pasture and covered with live oaks, willows, and other trees, giving signs of its being very fertile land, capable of producing whatever one might wish to plant.

These heathen seem to be very well supplied with everything, especially with plenty of fish of all kinds; in fact they brought to the camp so much that it was necessary to tell them not to bring any

more, for it would eventually have to spoil. They were not content with making us presents of their food, but wished also to entertain us, and it was clear that there was rivalry and emulation among the towns to come out best in the presents and feasts in order to win our approbation. In the afternoon the chief men came from each town, one after the other, adorned according to their usage, painted and loaded with plumage and some hollow reeds in their hands, to the movement and noise of which they kept time with their songs and the cadence of the dance, in such good time and in such unison that it produced real harmony. These dances lasted all the afternoon, and it cost us much trouble to rid ourselves of the people. They were sent away, charged with emphatic signs not to come in the night and disturb us; but it was in vain, for as soon as night fell they returned, playing on some pipes whose noise grated on our ears. It was feared that they might frighten the horses, for which reason the commander went out to meet them with his officers and some soldiers. They gave them some beads and implored them to go, telling[73] them that if they came again to interrupt our sleep they would not be welcome and we would give them an unfriendly reception. This induced them to depart and leave us in peace for the rest of the night.

The soldiers named these towns Mescaltitlán, but others call them the towns of La Isla; I christened them with the name of Santa Margarita de Cortona.

I took the latitude and it proved to be thirty-four degrees and forty-three minutes. In this, as well as in the rest of the towns on the channel, or even before reaching it, we have observed that they have cemeteries, and they have explained that one is for the men and the other for the women. On each grave a very high pole painted in several colors is placed. On those of the men they hang their hair, and doubtless before burying them they cut off their locks. On the poles of the women they hang baskets.[74] We also saw in the large cemeteries skeletons of whales and a mortar of carved stone which might serve for holy water or a baptismal font. We noticed that they have two very neat enclosures. They say that one of them is for games and that the other is their ceremonial temple.

From the town of Asumpta, which is the first one on the channel, the coast runs to the west-northwest, with little variation, and from the neighborhood of the lagoon it runs directly to the west.

Monday, August 21.—At two in the afternoon we broke camp, and continuing to the west, in which direction the coast runs, we traveled two leagues over high hills, in sight of the sea, interrupted by canyons caused by floods from the mountains which we had on our right, and which in some places reach almost to the shore, leaving in the intervening space very little ground. In other places these mountains retreat, leaving some level ground between them and the sea, sometimes half a league wide. We tra-

versed a forest of live oaks and came to the watering place, which is an arroyo of good water in a valley. On its bank and on the beach we found a very large village, which must contain more than a thousand persons. We pitched camp on the right side of the valley, not far from the village.* The heathen came immediately to greet us and gave us an abundance of fresh and dried fish; and, not desiring to be less hospitable than the preceding ones, they entertained us with their dance. Some of our party thought that this ranchería was not one, but two villages; we gave them the name of San Luís Obispo. I observed the latitude, which was thirty-four degrees and forty-five minutes.

Tuesday, August 22.—On this day we rested, in order to give the explorers time to go out. From this place we made out two islands, a small one to the south and a large one to the southeast.

Wednesday, August 23.—At half-past six we started, with the object of taking advantage of low tide. We traveled about a league along the beach, but afterward left it and made the rest of the march, which covered about three leagues, over high hills, cut off from the sea in some places; and we were frequently interrupted by ravines and gullies by which the mountains discharge their waters, nearly all of which had running water and some live oaks. On each side of an arroyo† there is a village, but we

* At Naples, on Dos Pueblos (Two Towns) Canyon.

† Apparently at Tajiguas Creek.

do not know whether or not they are distinct. On one bank we counted forty-two houses, and on the other thirty-seven, and the people that we saw must exceed four hundred. We pitched camp on the left bank, and as soon as we arrived the heathen came to visit us and made us liberal presents of fish and seeds, to which the commander responded with beads; they also entertained us with a dance.

We named these villages San Guido de Cortona. We saw only four canoes, although they told us they had fifteen, and that the others had gone to the islands, of which four can be seen from this place. In this village, as well as in others in the channel, we have seen heathen men wearing the dress of women, with buckskin petticoats, very well tanned and clean. We have not been able to understand what it means, nor what the purpose is; time, and an understanding of the language, when it is learned, will make it clear.

Thursday, August 24.—On this day of San Bartolomé, after we two had said Mass and all the people had heard it, we set out early in the morning. We went west, and found the road and the country similar to those of yesterday. Every little way it was necessary for the workmen to repair the bad spots that were met with, and this laborious task caused much delay. We traveled two leagues and a half and came to the camping place, which is in a valley into which enters an estuary of salt water. On its banks we found a village of fifty-two houses,

which, judging by the people whom we saw, must contain about three hundred souls, who made us presents and entertained us like the preceding. In this place there is a lack of firewood, and in order to get good water it is necessary to go higher up in the valley, where an arroyo comes down, before the fresh water unites with that of the estuary. I called this place San Luís, king of France, and the soldiers know it as La Gaviota,* because they killed a seagull there. I observed the latitude, which was thirty-four degrees and forty-seven minutes. A heathen of this town, a great dancer, whom the soldiers called "El Loco," became so attached to us that he continues to follow us; he is of great service to us, and will aid us with the other villages. From this place we saw in the afternoon the last three islands of the channel of Santa Bárbara. They are San Bernardo, the most western; Santa Cruz, which follows to the east; and Santa Bárbara, the most eastern. The Indians of this town have seven canoes which are out fishing; some of them are very large.

Friday, August 25.—This day we set out at half-past two in the afternoon, across the estuary, and took the road along the beach, which continues to the west. We traveled four hours to make two leagues over highlands close to the seashore, the ground being much broken. One of these highlands completely cut off our passage on account of the precipitous nature of its slope on the west. For this

* Still called Gaviota.

reason we had to take the road by the beach over the stones at the foot of a cliff which was washed by the waves of the sea, so that it could be passed only at ebb tide. The cliff lasted about a quarter of a league. We afterwards climbed its highest part to the camping place[75] at a town of heathen of twenty-four houses, which must contain about two hundred souls, and which we named San Seferino, the Pope.* They received us with great friendliness, like the others. The place is rather gloomy, and is in a valley. There are other hills to be seen, not very high, all bare, and without a tree. In the interior of the valley similar hills are seen, also very gloomy, although there is plenty of pasturage. Firewood is scarce but the land is of good mellow soil. By the mouth of the valley an estuary enters and serves for a landing place for the canoes of the Indians. There is fresh running water in the valley, but it must be taken above before it mixes with that of the estuary. Two of the islands are in sight. The north wind which we have had in this and the preceding camps has been extremely cold; Señor Constanzó made the observation and the latitude was thirty-four degrees and thirty minutes.

Saturday, August 26.—At half-past two in the afternoon we set forth. Descending to the village we took the road by the estuary, and continued west, over some mesas of good land with much grass up to the very edge of the sea. In this stretch the beach

* Near El Bullito Creek (or possibly at Cañada de la Brea).

widens, as the mountain[76] recedes. After half a league's travel on the same beach we came to a village of twenty houses, whose people live, like the rest on the channel, upon fish, and we saw that they had three canoes out fishing. They showed great friendliness. In passing we named the village Santa Ana. From it we went on for a distance by the beach, and afterwards ascended the mesas, which continued to have good land and pasture. We traveled over them nearly three hours, with the annoyance of the ups and downs of the ravines, which are channels for the floods from the Sierra[77] in the rainy season. In one of them we saw some pools of fresh water, from which they filled the leather bags; this ravine had some poplars and live oaks.

We went forward and came to the camping place, having made two leagues and a half. Camp was pitched at the edge of a valley in which there is a village of twenty-four houses, with many heathen, who welcomed us and made us presents like the rest. Their chief is lame in one leg, for which reason the soldiers called it Ranchería del Cojo, but I christened it Santa Teresa.* It has its canoes, and the people live by fishing, like the rest. The place is short of firewood, but the land is good and has much grass. Water they have in the same valley in pools, which seem to come from springs. We have in sight at a distance of one league a point of land which penetrates far into the sea; according to the descrip-

* The valley is still called Cañada del Cojo.

tions it must be Point Concepción. Señor Constanzó took the latitude, and it was thirty-four degrees and thirty minutes, and I found it to be thirty-four degrees and fifty-one and a half minutes.[78] These heathen have European beads, and when asked they said they got them from the north. One of the mules was left in charge of the chief until our return, as it was too lame to walk.

Sunday, August 27.—We started at a quarter past two in the afternoon, after we two priests had celebrated Mass in the morning with everybody present. We took the road to the west, going by the seashore, as it was level ground and well covered with good grass. After one league's travel we came to the low, bare point of land which it is conjectured is Point Concepción. There is not a single village on it, although it has an extensive plain with a great deal of grass. From here the beach runs to the northwest. We went on our way over long hills, and after traveling a league and a half, the point passed, we came to the watering place on the beach itself, which is an arroyo of running water that looks like an estuary.

Near it there is a village of twenty houses, with more than two hundred and fifty souls; the people are very poor, they have no canoes for fishing, and the land is poor and short of firewood. One of the heathen, taking advantage of the carelessness of a soldier, took his sword from the scabbard so cleverly that the soldier did not notice it, and marched off

with it. Other heathen, who saw it, ran after the thief, and, although he had sought the safety of the sea, it did not avail him, for the others caught him, took it from him, and returned it to its owner, who rewarded them with some beads. For this reason they called it Ranchería de la Espada, so that, with this reminder the soldier would be more careful.* I gave it the sweet name of Concepción de María Santísma, in view of the neighborhood of the Point which has had this name for so many years. I took the latitude and it was thirty-four degrees, fifty-one and a half minutes.

Monday, August 28.—We set out at half-past two in the afternoon and traveled two leagues over high land, in sight of the sea, with good pasture, and arrived at the camping place, which is at a spring of about one naránja of good water. Near it there is a small village of about seventy souls, living in ten poor houses. These people seemed to us to be a little reserved,[79] although they treated us with the same friendliness as the others. From the camp we saw another point of land entering the sea, about a gunshot distant from the camp. Between this point and that of Concepción it appears that there is a good bay, and opposite it are seen the last two islands of the channel. One of them, the one nearest Point Concepción, is large; the other is smaller, and has a seal rock joined to it on the west. From the Point the coast runs to the northwest. In this

* Espada Creek in its name records this incident of the theft of the sword.

village the soldiers gathered good flints for their weapons; for this reason they named it Los Pedernales,* but I, in view of the fact that to-morrow we celebrate the martyrdom of San Juan Bautista, commended this village to him, so that with his patronage its reduction may be accomplished, for which purpose I gave it his name.

Tuesday, August 29.—At a quarter past one we set out northwest over level ground near the beach, and after traveling a short distance we passed the Point and saw another,† and a bay between the two on the sea side. After half a league's travel we came to an arroyo with plenty of fresh water running to the sea. We came out on the shore of the bay after crossing some large sand dunes with some difficulty, and because it was now late, for we had traveled three hours, during which we covered two leagues and a half, the commander ordered camp made in a valley in which there was no water for the animals. Only in some little pools was there any with which to make tortillas, and what was brought in the leather bags was drunk, for which reason the soldiers called it La Cañada Seca, while I named it Santa Rosalía.

Wednesday, August 30.—After we two priests had celebrated Mass and the rest had heard it we set out in the morning, following the road to the

* Still called Rocky Point.

† Argüello Point. The arroyo which they crossed just beyond was Cañada Honda. Santa Rosalía, where they camped for the night, was just south of Surf.

northwest. As we were starting some heathen came from the nearby villages and said they came to guide us. We proceeded on our way over dunes and sandy stretches, and after traveling half a league we came to a large river which is more than a hundred varas wide near the sea, its whole bed being full of fresh water. It is supposed that it sinks into the sea under the sand, for there is in its mouth a sandbank which serves as a bridge, over which we crossed. It runs in the middle of a very wide valley, and the sergeant said that in the exploration which they made higher up it was found that it has good land and groves. They saw that it has two branches above, and when they attempted to ford it the water came up to the cuirass. They say that water can be obtained to irrigate the good land which the valley has farther up. We halted on the bank of the river, where we saw no village, but in a little while many heathen came to invite us to go and stay with them in their towns. The commander excused himself, and gave them presents of beads with which they were well pleased. They asked my father companion where we were going, and begged him to stay with them, saying that they would support him. He replied that he was compelled to go on with the rest, but that on our return he would gladly remain. We named this river, which is the largest that we have encountered, for San Bernardo and his companion, but, because we arrived on this day, it is also called Santa Rosa.*

* Santa Inez River.

I observed the latitude to be thirty-four degrees and fifty-five minutes.

Thursday, August 31.—Early in the morning we set out from this river, traveling directly to the north, over sand dunes and shells, which we soon left behind and went through level country with low hills. After three hours' travel, during which we must have covered two leagues and a half, we arrived at the camping place, near a large pond of fresh water more than eighty varas across, with banks well grown with tule, willows, and other trees. We halted not far from the water, where there was a village, which must have been temporary, for we did not see a single house. The Indians entertained us with dancing, the first place where we saw the women dance, for which reason this lagoon is known by the name of El Baile de las Indias, although others call it La Graciosa, on account of the carelessness of one of the soldiers in saying that they had seen a pretty lagoon. It is in a hollow, surrounded by hills, not very high. The water comes from a spring, at whose source there is good watercress, tender and savory. We named this lake[80] San Ramón Nonato, as it was his day.*

* San Antonio Creek.

CHAPTER XII

MARCH MADE BY THE EXPEDITION IN THE MONTH OF SEPTEMBER

Friday, September 1.—At six in the morning we left the camping place, taking the road straight to the north, in order to avoid the sand dunes on the beach; but, although we went some distance inland, we did not entirely escape them, for we found some quite high ones a good way from the beach. After traveling about half a league we came to a sink, or pool, of fresh water, with an abundance of pasture which grows among the tules with which the pool is surrounded. The sand dunes continued for about three-quarters of a league, and then followed a ridge of firm land, covered with rosemary and little trees unknown to us. After a league and a half of travel we descended[81] to a valley of good land well grown with pasturage, and continued over hills. After four hours' travel, in which we must have gone three and a half leagues, we descended[81] to a beautiful valley, about three leagues wide and more than seven long. In the middle of it there is a very large lake, more than five hundred varas wide and of unknown length, for we could not see the end, and it is surmised that it reaches to the sea. All

along its banks there is a great deal of tule, many cottonwoods, and pasture without end. We pitched camp near the water. There are two villages, one small and the other larger, and as soon as we arrived the people came to visit us and made us gifts of some baskets of pinole and the seeds that they use. The water of this lagoon comes from a spring, and if it could be taken out much land could be planted. It is a very delightful place, and the view takes in the whole of the large valley. We gave it the name of Laguna Grande de San Daniel.* I took the latitude and it was thirty-five[82] degrees and thirteen minutes.

Saturday, September 2.—We set out from this lagoon at a quarter past eight and crossed the plain, which is about two leagues in extent. By the direction that we followed, which is northwest, the remainder of the way was over mesas as far as the next water, and we covered in a day's march about three leagues. The watering place is a large lake nearly circular in shape, in a valley, and it is enclosed by some sand dunes which retain the water and prevent it from going to the sea. The entire valley, which runs from east to west, is covered with rushes and grass, and the ground is very wet and swampy. In the afternoon the soldiers went out to hunt bears, as they had seen their tracks, and they succeeded in killing one with a gunshot. It was measured and found to be fourteen spans from

* Guadalupe Lake.

the soles of its feet to its head. The paws were one span long, and it must have weighed three hundred and seventy-five pounds. We tasted its meat and I thought it very savory. Six heathen, who belong to two villages that they say are not far from here, came to see us. I gave this place the name of Lake of the Holy Martyrs, San Juan de Perucia and San Pedro de Sacro Terrato. Our sergeant, Don José Francisco de Ortega, fell ill of a pain, perhaps from colic; some ten soldiers also complained of their legs.

Sunday, September 3.—This day we rested, in order to give time for the explorers to look for a pass through the mountains that we have in sight, in the supposition that they end at the beach. They are apparently the same ones that since our departure from San Diego have followed us on the right. In places they retreat from the shore and in others draw near it, so close at this point that there is no room for us to continue by the beach. This place is known to the soldiers as Camp of Las Vívoras, on account of the large number of snakes that were seen; others call it El Oso Flaco.*

Monday, September 4.—At half-past six in the morning we set out to the west over sand dunes, which we crossed in the narrowest part discovered by the explorers, only half a league wide. We then struck the beach, and traveled along it a matter of one league to the northwest; from there we went in-

* It is still called Oso Flaco Lake (The Lake of the Lean Bear).

land again, turning to the east and crossing the dunes by another narrow place, half a league wide. We were then fortunate enough to travel on solid ground for one league, between two[83] bodies of water. At the right we had a lagoon of fresh water which was walled in by the dunes and prevented from emptying into the sea; on the left we had an estuary which penetrated into the plain. We rounded it by turning to the northwest; then we took the road to the north and entered the mountains through a valley grown with live oaks, alders, willows, and other trees, and halted to make camp in the same valley, near an arroyo of running water covered with watercress.* On the whole march, which covered four leagues, we only found one very small town. Near the camping place we found a village, whose people immediately came to visit us, bringing their present of fish and seeds, for which we thanked them, the commander reciprocating with some beads. The chief of that village has a large goitre which hangs from his neck. On account of this the soldiers named him El Buchón, which name he and the village retained. I named the place[84] San Ladislao, so that this saint may be its patron and protector for its conversion. We observed among these people what we had not seen among any others, namely, that as soon as we arrived the women spread out some mats, and after scattering on them many seeds,

* In Price Canyon, north of Pismo.

told us to be seated. We did so, and these poor creatures remained with us just as though they had always known us. I observed the latitude and found it to be thirty-five degrees and twenty-eight minutes.

Tuesday, September 5.—At half-past six we broke camp, following the same valley until it turned to the northwest, when we left it. A short distance from there we took a rough and troublesome road over high hills not far from the beach, with many ups and downs; but it was very delightful on account of the thick growth of live oaks, oaks, and alders. On this march of two leagues we did not see a single heathen. We halted in a narrow valley hemmed in by very high hills, with running water and good pasture for the animals. I called it Cañada de Santa Elena, and it is known to the soldiers as Cañada Angosta.* It is in thirty-five degrees, three minutes.

Wednesday, September 6.—This day was dedicated to rest and to giving an opportunity to the explorers to examine the road.

Thursday, September 7.—We set out at half-past six, by a bad road, over high, steep hills, which lasted more than three leagues, until we descended to another spacious valley, with many lagoons of fresh water, from which the animals could not drink because the banks were so miry. This made it necessary to march to an arroyo of good water a league farther down[85] on whose banks we camped.† In this valley we saw troops of bears, which kept the

* San Luís Canyon. † Chorro Creek.

ground plowed up and full of holes which they make searching for roots which constitute their food, and on which the heathen also live, for there are some which have a very good flavor and taste. The soldiers went out to hunt and succeeded in killing one with bullets, in doing which they learned the ferocity of these animals. When they feel themselves wounded they attack the hunter at full speed, and he can only escape by the dexterity of his horse. They do not yield until they get a shot in the head or the heart. This one that they killed received nine balls before he fell, which did not happen until one struck him in the head. Some of the soldiers were fearless enough to chase one of these animals mounted on poor beasts. They fired seven or eight shots, and I have no doubt he would die from the balls; but the bear upset two of the mules, and it was only by good fortune that the two mounted on them escaped with their lives. This valley they named Los Osos, and I called it La Natividad de Nuestra Señora.*

Friday, September 8.—After Mass was said on this great day of the Nativity of our Lady, we went on by the same valley as far as the sea, which lies to the west. There were some obstructions caused by deep gulches, which it was necessary to prepare so that the pack train could pass. At the end of two leagues we stopped on a hill in sight of the sea,

* Still called Cañada de los Osos. It is a few miles west of San Luís Obispo.

near an arroyo* of good water covered with watercress. It is a pleasant land, with many trees and good pasture. Not far from the camping place there was a very small village of heathen which seemed to be nomadic, for we did not see a single house. About sixty persons came to see us as soon as we arrived and presented us with a sort of porridge made of roasted seeds which tasted like almonds, and everybody liked it very much. The governor returned the gift and they were all well pleased.

To the south an estuary of immense size enters this valley, so large that it looked like a harbor to us; its mouth opens to the southwest, and we noticed that it is covered by reefs which cause a furious surf. At a short distance from it, to the north, we saw a great rock in the form of a round morro, which, at high tide, is isolated and separated from the coast by a little less than a gunshot. From this morro the coast runs to the west-northwest as far as the point that we saw jutting into the sea, and between it and another point of the mountains that we left behind, the shore forms a great bay, sheltered from the winds to the southwest and west; but it is necessary to examine it to make sure of the bottom. This spot was named Valley of San Adriano.

Saturday, September 9.—About six in the morning we set out to the northwest over mesas of good

* Morro Creek. The bay where they stopped is now called Morro Bay, and the rock in front of their camp is now called Morro Rock.

land covered with grass and well supplied with water[86] but without trees. In the four hours that we traveled, making at the most three leagues, we encountered eight arroyos by which the water from the mountains runs to the sea, along whose edge we traveled. We halted at the eighth watering place in a moderately broad valley, into which enters an estuary fed by an arroyo* of good water coming from the mountains. The hills which enclose this valley on the west reach to the sea. They impede passage along the beach, but the road to the north and northwest is left open. The spot was named Estuary of Santa Serafina. I found the latitude to be exactly thirty-six degrees, while for Señor Constanzó it came our thirty-five degrees and twenty-seven minutes.

Sunday, September 10.—After Mass had been said in the presence of all the soldiers, we set out early in the morning and took the valley by the north arm.† We followed it for the space of two hours and a half, during which we must have traveled two good leagues. Later we left it because we saw that it was turning to the north. From that point we made out a mountain range covered with pines, and in a very deep valley filled with a thick growth of willows, cottonwoods, pines, and other trees, we came to a large arroyo, which looked to

* Ellysly's Creek, just east of Point Estero. A short distance north it is joined by Villa Creek.

† They ascended Ellysly's Creek, went over Dawson Grade, and camped on Santa Rosa Creek, near Cambria.

us like a small river. We halted at the head of the valley, and some sixty heathen from a village that they said was not far from the camping place came to visit us. They gave us some baskets of pinole and we returned the gift with beads. They brought a little bear which they had reared and offered it to us, but we did not accept it. From this circumstance the soldiers took occasion to name the spot El Osito, but I called it San Benvenuto. I observed the latitude and it was thirty-six degrees and two minutes.

Monday, September 11.—Early in the morning, which broke very cloudy, we left the place, descended to the seashore and followed the beach, which runs to the northwest. We traveled for an hour and a half by a good road, along a cliff near the edge of the sea, with watering places at every step, and camped in a valley through which an arroyo empties into the ocean. I called it Arroyo de San Nicolás, but among the soldiers it is known as El Cantil.* There is an abundance of pasture and firewood. I did not observe the latitude, but Señor Constanzó did so and found it to be thirty-five degrees and thirty-five minutes.

Tuesday, September 12.—At half-past six in the morning we set out, following the beach on the highest part. The land was very rough and much

* Little Pico Creek, which enters San Simeon Bay straight east of San Simeon Point. Next day they ascended Arroyo Laguna to Arroyo de la Cruz.

broken; on the road there were many arroyos and gullies full of water, and they gave a great deal of trouble in fixing the bad spots that we found. We came to a point of land running into the sea, which we had on our left hand and went through a pass in the mountains. We then went on to the north-northwest, crossing several valleys and arroyos. In the day's march, which lasted three hours in which we must have covered two leagues, we came to eight watering places. We stopped on a hill at the edge of a deep valley which has sufficient water in a pool. A little way off from the camp we saw a village of heathen, and six of them came to visit us. We named this arroyo San Vicente. I observed the latitude and found it to be thirty-six degrees and ten[87] minutes.

Wednesday, September 13.—We started early in the morning, about half-past six, and marched for two leagues in a northwesterly direction, part way by the valley mentioned, and part by high mesas steeply inclined to the sea, on the edge of which we marched all this day. We stopped between two arroyos in a place where there is plenty of grass and firewood. Directly after we arrived some six heathen from a village that was near by came to visit us. At midday they brought us their present of pinole in baskets, and some good fresh fish, and the commander reciprocated with some beads, which pleased them very much. In front of us is the high, rugged mountain range, all covered with pines,

which appears to be the Sierra de Pinos or Santa Lucía, and, judging by its rough aspect, it looks as though it would prevent our passage. In view of this the commander decided to stop here for a few days in order to give an opportunity for the explorers to examine and discover a pass.[88] With this object, the captain set out to-day with a party of soldiers and Indians, equipped with the necessary tools to repair any bad places that might be found. I named this spot the arroyos of Santa Humiliana.*

Thursday, September 14.—A day of rest for us; some of the soldier explorers came back with the report that the pass was very rough, and that it was necessary to repair some places with pick and bar.

Friday, September 15.—This day they worked in preparing the road, and at night the captain came with the word that the pass was ready for the first march.

Saturday, September 16.—Early in the morning we set out from the camp, and entered the valley, which opened the way for us to enter the mountains, going now on one slope and now on another, according to what the ground would permit.† The valley is very narrow, and in part the mountains which enclose it are perilously steep, and all are inaccessible, not only for men, but also for goats and deer. In the middle of the valley runs an arroyo of water

* Near Ragged Point, on San Carpoforo Creek. Here the coast becomes impassable.

† Up San Carpoforo Creek to its junction with Chris Flood Creek.

which we crossed many times before we arrived at the camping place where we are. It is divided into two branches, one running from the east-northeast and the other from the north. Veering somewhat to the northeast there is a mountain, not so steep as those forming the valley, by the skirts of which they say we must ascend, first opening the road. After traveling one league we stopped at the foot of the mountain which we are to climb,[89] where the arroyo divides, and, after eating, all the men set out to open the road. The stretch that we have traveled over to-day is well wooded with live oaks, alders, willows, and other trees not known to us, without any land at all for planting, but with an abundance of stones. On account of the fog I could not make any observations during these days. This place received the name of the Foot of the Sierra de Santa Lucía.

Sunday, September 17, Day of the Impression of the Stigmata of our Seraphic Father San Francisco.—I would have been most happy to stop here to celebrate with my companion this great day for all our seraphic Order but we had to make another league of the journey. With this object we set out in the morning, and the first thing was to begin to go over the crest, with a prayer in our mouths, for this day's journey called for nothing less. Afterwards we followed the ridges of the hills which form the side of the valley which looks to the north; then we descended another declivity, very long and

steep, and halted in a hollow which has nearby plenty of water, firewood, and pasture. We came upon a village of heathen who numbered perhaps sixty souls, but without a single house. They are very gentle and friendly; they told us this was not their home, but that as soon as they saw us they ran to meet us in order to accompany us afterwards to the village, which they say is near, and that we have to pass by there. We called this spot La Hoya* de la Sierra de Santa Lucía, and I named for patron to these poor heathen my Seraphic Father San Francisco (who received the impression of the stigmata on Mount Alberne, so that he might intercede for the conversion of these heathen who live in these crags, rougher than those of that mountain) and also Blucia de Sulermo. I was able to make an observation, and it came out north latitude thirty-six degrees and eighteen and a half minutes.

Monday, September 18.—This day was for us and those few who remained in the camp a day of rest, for nearly all the people went out to work on the road in preparation for the next march.

Tuesday, September 19.—The rest for us continued, while the men went on with the work on the road, which they finished, thanks to God.

Wednesday, September 20.—About half-past six we set out from the camping place, and immediately began to ascend a long steep acclivity. Afterwards we went on by the slope of a valley, narrow and deep, which has running water. We went down to

* Apparently at Wagner Creek.

it and crossed the arroyo two or three times in the same valley, which we found now wider, and we again climbed a very long steep. When we reached the top of it we rose above the whole range, which extends in all four directions, without an end to be seen on any side. It was a sad spectacle for poor travelers, tired and worn out by the fatigue of a long journey, by the labor of leveling bad spots, and of opening roads through hills, woods, sand dunes, and swamps. They now began[90] to feel the cold, and some of the soldiers were also afflicted with the scurvy and incapacitated for work, by which the labor was made harder for the rest. All these considerations were such as to oppress our hearts, but, remembering the object to which these labors were directed, which was the greater glory of God in the conversion of souls, and the service of the king, whose dominions would be extended by this expedition, all took courage to work with pleasure, over which we rejoiced exceedingly, blessing our God and Lord and supplicating him to grant health to everybody and success to the expedition, naming as intercessor our patron, the most holy patriarch San José. We traveled this day five hours, covering two leagues, and stopped in the same mountains in a little valley, exceedingly narrow, so that there was scarcely room to form the camp. We found there three villages of heathen, who were harvesting pine nuts. They had their houses not far from the camp, from what they said, and they showed themselves

to be agreeable and lively. The explorers came back in the afternoon and reported that while making the exploration with more care they had seen not far from there another spot better suited for the camp, and the commander decided that in the morning we should go there. They named this place Camp of Piñones,* on account of the abundance of pine nuts, and the large number that the Indians gave us. The gift was returned with beads.

Thursday, September 21.—In order to move to the place spoken of by the explorers it was necessary to repair some bad spots, and for this task they set out after hearing Mass, which we both celebrated. In the afternoon we moved, leaving camp at half-past two, and in two hours we went a league to the north through the same mountains, and came to the camping place at a very large arroyo,† whose source, so they said, was not far off. It runs from east to west, is very much boxed in, and has a good growth of live oaks, alders, and cottonwoods. Not far from the camping place there are two rancherías, from which some heathen came to visit us. They gave us pinole and pine nuts; in return we gave them beads, which pleased them very much.[91]

[Friday, September 22.—We rested at this place so as to give time for the scouts to examine the country carefully, and also to allow the animals to recuperate somewhat, as they were in bad condition.

* Near Los Burros Creek, west of the Nacimiento River.

† The Nacimiento River.

Saturday, September 23.—After nightfall the scouts returned from their reconnaissance with good news. They said that they had pushed forward for twelve or fourteen leagues, and had followed a valley as far as its outlet in the sea; in this, however, they were greatly deceived, as we all found out afterwards, by the heavy fog which filled the valley towards the sea. They believed, also, that they had seen the beach, but this was still quite distant. Through the valley flowed a river which they took to be the Carmelo,* as they saw large trees on its banks—cottonwoods, willows, oaks, and other kinds. With this news the men were greatly rejoiced. They all bestirred themselves, supposing that the goal towards which we were marching was only a short distance away, for our desires anticipated our arrival.

Sunday, September 24.—We set out and proceeded for about two leagues, over low-lying hills, towards the north and at times towards the northeast. We descended a slope at the foot of which flowed a considerable stream of water.† Its course was eastward, and turned, afterwards, to the north, uniting with the Río de las Truchas, as we understood from the natives. The whole country over which we travelled, especially from this stream onward, was covered on both sides with white oaks and live oaks, as high and of as great girth as can

* The Salinas River.

† San Antonio River, near Jolón.

be found in the finest parks of Europe. All the trees were loaded with acorns, as yet unripe, and the crop would be so large that many herds of swine could be maintained. The Indians use them in making their *atole*—of which we have partaken in various places—and they also roast them and eat them as bread. On the margin of this stream there was a village of very poor, wandering Indians, but they showed themselves friendly and obsequious.*]

Monday, September 25.—This morning we halted, for the reason that on the next day's march that we are[92] to make there is no water for the animals to drink. At midday, here at this arroyo, which I named The Wounds of Our Seraphic Father San Francisco, considering the fact that since leaving his land we had not found a place suitable for dedicating a mission to him, and that this arroyo, with its land and abundance of water, was not unworthy of a good settlement, I decided to delay no longer; and therefore I dedicated this arroyo to the impression of his stigmata, reserving that saint's name for the famous town, as his Excellency the visitor-general said to our father president at the camp of Santa Ana before taking leave of him. At two in the afternoon we set out from this place and traveled a little more than a league straight to the

* The entries for September 22, 23, and 24, which, except for two lines, are lacking from the Figueroa MS. and the printed texts of Crespi's diary, have been supplied from Costansó. The last two lines of Crespi's entry for the 24th have been preserved. They are nearly identical with Costansó's entry: "village of very friendly heathen who appear to be wanderers, for we saw not a single house."

north. On the way we encountered eight small, round, white hills, close together. Afterward we entered a valley of good land between hills well covered with oaks and live oaks, and with some pines on the peaks; and after traveling for a short distance through it we found a little pool of water, from which all the skin bags and barrels were filled. We then went on to a place where the pasture had not[93] been burned, and stopped there, one league from the arroyo of The Wounds of Our Father.*

Tuesday, September 26.—At half-past seven in the morning we set out from camp, following the valley to the northeast; it gets narrower little by little, and the hills by which it is confined are very stony. At the end of the valley the hills come together, but they still allowed us passage, not at all difficult, to descend to another valley, the one in which the explorers thought they had a sight of the Carmelo River through the thick fog. We descended to it by an easy slope thickly grown with different sorts of bushes, among them one with a fruit which resembles wild chestnuts, but very bitter. At the foot of the declivity we found a village of wandering Indians numbering more than two hundred souls, who were camped beneath a fallen live oak. They gave us a quantity of seeds and pine nuts, to which we responded with some beads. We remained a while with them, and then went on with the intention of stopping on the banks of the river, which the

* Upper Jolón Valley.

explorers called El Carmelo. We traveled about three leagues, and pitched camp at a river whose banks are full of willows, cottonwoods, live oaks, and other trees. The whole plain is very verdant, and the earth is soft and mellow, producing a variety of fragrant plants, a great deal of rosemary, sage, and Castilian rosebushes which are loaded with roses. The day's march covered three leagues from the start. I named this place Valley or River of San Elziario; by the soldiers it is known as El Real del Chocolate.*

Wednesday, September 27.—A little after half-past six we set out from the camp, following the course of the valley and the river in a northwesterly direction. We crossed the river farther down where it was smooth, after its waters were divided into three arms. In some large pools in the same river many fish were seen, and the soldiers said they saw some that might weigh as much as ten[94] pounds each. We left the river bottom in order to get on level, clear land, drawing a little closer to the hills which enclosed the valley on the north, until we came again to the slope of the river bottom which inclined toward those hills, veering a little to the northwest, compelling us to take to the skirts of the hills which we had in sight on the right hand.† As

* They apparently descended Kent Canyon, reaching the Salinas near King City.

† Below King City and above Metz the Salinas River runs close to the eastern range. This passage in Crespi is in itself proof that Portolá reached the river near King City.

soon as opportunity offered we again followed the level land, keeping the direction of the river. We saw in this day's march two bands of antelope some distance from us. The march covered four leagues, and camp was made near some pools of water under a large cottonwood, a site well furnished with pasture, which cannot be obtained anywhere else in the valley. Because the camp was pitched near the cottonwood, it was named Real del Alamo.* I took the latitude, finding it to be thirty-six degrees and thirty-eight minutes.

Thursday, September 28.—We set out early in the morning, which was very cloudy, and followed the same valley and river by a level road, the grass all burned. As we approach the seacoast, the valley goes on widening, and in places the plain has a width of two leagues, in others still more. We traveled five hours, during which we must have made four leagues, and halted in the same plain of the valley in the midst of a grove of live oaks, which had a little pasture that had not been burned. Because the land had a whitish color it was called Real Blanco. Although we have come across many roads and paths beaten by the heathen, we have not seen one of them; some bands of antelopes were seen, but not within gunshot.

Friday, September 29.—To-day, day of the prince and archangel San Miguel, after we two had said

* Camp on the 27th (Real del Alamo) was near Metz; on the 28th (Real Blanco), near Camphora.

Mass, attended by all the men, we started about eight in the morning by the same valley, following the course of the river by a level road like the preceding, although it was more abundant in unburned pasture. The valley gets wider, the trees and the verdure of the river bed continue, and on the banks there are an infinite number of roses of Castile. We traveled four hours, making three leagues and a half, and halted close to the river, which flows in this part more noisily and swiftly. Shortly after halting we heard a great uproar and shouting in the wood formed by the trees of the river, which must be more than four hundred varas wide. Presuming it to be some village whose people had seen us and were making this noise in consequence, the commander, some of the officers, and I started in their direction, when we saw that it was not as we had thought, but that they were hunting, and had not seen us, for now,[95] just as soon as they caught sight of us, the shouting stopped. We signaled them with a white cloth to approach, but there was no way to attract them; on the contrary, they began to blow on a pipe and throw earth in the air, on seeing which we returned to camp and allowed them to continue their exercise. From the foregoing incident this place was called Real de los Cazadores.*

Saturday, September 30.—We started early in the morning, following the valley down stream, northwest and west-northwest. Little by little the

* Near Chualar.

hills are getting lower and lower and drawing farther away, at the same time that the valley widens, for at the camping place and in sight of two low points formed by the hills the valley must be more than three leagues across. The soil is of the same nature as the preceding, although the land is lower and has some fissures into which the animals sink; the soil is whitish and short of pasture on account of the fires set by the heathen.

We traveled four leagues and a quarter, and halted in the same valley not far from the river, which here is distant from the coast two and a half leagues.* The sea can be heard from the camp, although it cannot yet be seen. The explorers came in this afternoon with the report that this river, which we have been following for days, empties into an estuary which enters the sea through the valley; that the beach can be seen to the north and the south surrounded with sand dunes, and the coast forms an immense bay; and that to the south is seen a ridge which terminates in a point in the sea, and is covered with trees that look like pines.

On hearing this information most of us suspected that we had left behind the harbor that we were looking for, because of the great circuit we had made northeast-by-north in order to pass the mountains cutting across our path, until we came down to the valley which permitted us to again take the road along the beach in the direction of the northwest and

* Camp was below Old Hill Town.

west-northwest. Another indication of this was the Point of Pines visible to the south, for it is one of the marks of the harbor of Monterey given in the itineraries, making it certain that the great bay described by the explorers was undoubtedly that formed between the Point of Pines and Point Año Nuevo.[96] These arguments had some force, especially in view of the fact that we were higher up than thirty-six and a half degrees north latitude. For these reasons it was considered indispensable to make a careful examination of the point to the south before going on.

CHAPTER XIII

MARCH MADE BY THE EXPEDITION IN THE MONTH OF OCTOBER

Sunday, October 1.—On this day, after Mass had been said by us two priests and heard by the rest, we broke camp, and, following the same river, we traveled one league, approaching the beach. We halted near the same river in the plain, which had good pasture, about a league and a half from the beach.* Soon after our arrival the commander, the engineer, and I, accompanied by five soldiers, went to examine the beach. Ascending a small hill which is not far from it, from the top we saw a great bay, which we conjectured to be the one which Cabrera Bueno places between Point Año Nuevo and the Point of Pines† of Monterey, for we saw this point covered with tall pines, and it must be that the port of Monterey is near it. The river which we have been following for so many days empties into this great bay, which forms an estuary that penetrates the land about two leagues and causes the river to rise and fall. Near the beach it is now very full and of great depth, so that it cannot be forded; the mouth is narrow, perhaps twelve varas wide, and near the

* Camp was near Blanco. † Sill so-called.

sea it resembles a very deep pond. The plain is very large, and extends for many leagues until it reaches the other point, which we conjectured to be Año Nuevo. We did not see a single heathen in this neighborhood. We returned to the camp, and, in view of what has been said, which we related to the commander, he decided that on the following day the captain should go out to examine the point mentioned.

Monday, October 2.—Early in the morning the captain started out with eight soldiers to examine the point closing the bay to the south. On this day I took the latitude, and it turned out thirty-six degrees and fifty-three minutes, while Señor Constanzó observed it by the gnomon method and it came out for him thirty-six degrees and forty-four minutes.

Tuesday, October 3.—To-day the explorers returned in the afternoon. Both the captain and the soldiers said that they had seen no harbor, either to the north or to the south of the point, but they did see that the point was covered with pines, and after passing it they saw a small bay formed between this Point of Pines and another somewhat farther south, with an arroyo of water which came down from the mountains,* well forested with trees, and an estuary into which the arroyo empties, near some small lagoons of little consequence. Farther on the precipitous coast ran south by southwest, and its

* Carmel Bay and River.

ruggedness compelled them to retreat. They believed also that this was the same cliff that had forced us back from the shore and obliged us to travel through the mountains. This report heard, the commander decided that on the following day a council of the officers should be held to determine what was to be done. He summoned them to it, and charged us priests to say the Mass of the Holy Ghost, that it might enlighten all and help them to give their opinions as to what was the best course to pursue.

Wednesday, October 4.—A great day for all the sons of our seraphic father San Francisco, whose festival we, his two sons, celebrated in this New World, or corner of the Old World, without any church or choir but the wilderness. We constructed an arbor in which to celebrate the holy sacrifice of the Mass, which we both said with all possible devotion, begging the Holy Ghost, by making our seraphic father intercessor, to give light to these men so that they might decide what is best to be done for the greater honor and glory of our king.

The Mass concluded, the commander summoned the officers. When they had assembled in the name of God, he told them about the shortage of provisions in which we found ourselves, and the number of sick on hand (there were seventeen men who were half crippled and of no use for labor); he called attention to the fact that the season was now far advanced, and to the great hardships of the men still in good

health from the excessive labor in watching the animals at night, in guarding the camp, and in the constant sallies to explore and reconnoiter. In view of this and of the fact that we had not found the harbor of Monterey in the latitude where we had supposed it to be, he asked each one to give his opinion freely, in order to decide upon the best course to pursue. Having heard the commander's proposal[97] the officers voted unanimously to continue the journey, as it seemed to be the only thing to do, in the hope of finding, through the favor of God, the desired harbor of Monterey, and in it the packet *San José,* which would relieve the suffering. And if it should be God's will that we should all perish in looking for Monterey, we should have done our duty to God and to all men by coöperating unto death to bring success to the undertaking that we had been commanded to carry out. All were resigned to this decision and in the mind to continue. We two friars also took part in this council and gave the same vote; and we endeavored to encourage all the rest and to convince them that the help of God would not be lacking to us, since the undertaking was directed to His greater honor and to His desired conversion of all souls.

Thursday, October 5.—Sergeant Ortega started out early in the morning with his soldiers to explore the country and examine, if it should be possible, the other point of the bay, which was thought to be Point Año Nuevo.

Friday, October 6.—The explorers returned in the afternoon with very joyful news, saying that they had found a river* with a great deal of verdure and Castilian trees, and that they had seen a point with many pines to the north, although it was learned afterwards that they had been mistaken on account of the heavy fog. They also saw tracks of large animals with cloven hoofs,[98] and which they judged to be buffalo, and a populous village of heathen who were living in barracks or huts covered with grass. They said they must number more than five hundred souls.

These people had had no information of our arrival in their country, judging by what our soldiers observed of the terror caused by their presence; for, astonished and confused, they ran wildly about, not knowing what they were doing. Some ran to their weapons, others shouted and yelled, and the women began to weep. The soldiers did all they could to calm them, and the sergeant succeeded in doing this by his wisdom, bravery, valor, and experience among Indians, although it cost him a good deal of trouble to restrain them. As soon as he saw that they were excited he dismounted and approached them in an attitude of peace. The Indians did not permit him to reach their village, but made signs to him to stop, and then instantly they all took up their arrows and thrust them into the ground, points down.[99] They did the same with some small daggers and feather headdresses which they immediately brought

* Pájaro River, near Watsonville.

from their houses. They then retired, and the sergeant, understanding that they had done these things as a sign of peace, approached and took some of the arrows and other things that they had planted there. The heathen were delighted at this, and applauded this conduct on the part of our men.

With the object of reassuring them still further that they were not going to harm them, but, on the contrary, desired their friendship, they asked them for food. At this the confidence of the Indians became greater, and their women at once set to work to grind seeds, of which they made balls of dough and gave them to the soldiers. The sergeant then gave the Indians some beads, and they were very pleased and happy. In consequence of the information that the explorers brought, all the rest of us became confident that the river they had seen was the Carmelo, and that, therefore, near that point of pines which they said they had seen, must be the desired port of Monterey. Everybody prepared to march on the following day, after having rested now five days and a half.

Saturday, October 7.—We set out from this camp, which took the name of Santa Delfina, virgin and wife of San Elceareo, to whom I dedicated the spot where we were on his day, the 27th of September, and at about twelve noon took the road to the north-northwest.[100] After traveling a short distance we entered a marsh, or dry lagoon, very verdant with mallows and other herbs. Afterwards we

followed a valley between low ridges, passing four lagoons that caused us some trouble to get around, for which purpose it was necessary to do some work on some miry spots. The march lasted three hours, during which we must have traveled two[101] leagues, and we halted in a valley near a lake and a village which it was evident had recently been abandoned by all the heathen. The road is over passable ground well covered with pasturage. Many cranes were seen at the lake, the first in the whole journey, for which reason the soldiers called it Laguna de Las Grullas,[102] while I named it Santa Brígida.* This night we confessed and gave the holy oil to one of the Leather-jacket soldiers, who has become seriously ill with scurvy.

Sunday, October 8.—After Mass we administered the holy viaticum to the sick man of last night, and to another who had also become worse, and to-day the latter likewise received the holy oils, nevertheless they are continuing the journey on litters which have been made for them. In the same way nine more are going who are almost crippled with the same disease, the scurvy, although not so badly as the two mentioned. After this tender and devout ceremony we left the place about eight in the morning, going north through hills higher than the preceding. At each bay formed by the land there was a lagoon of greater or lesser magnitude, which made it necessary for us to make many detours.

* Near Del Monte Junction. The laguna was perhaps Espinosa Lake.

After traveling five hours, covering four leagues, we came to the large village which the explorers had told us about. We found it abandoned, contrary to our expectations; for when we set out from the lake of Santa Brígida de las Grullas, we saw near the camping place several arrows and little darts thrust in the ground, with some mussels at their feet, which the Indians, either in the afternoon or the night of the preceding day, had fixed in that spot without allowing us to see them. These signs of peace convinced us that we should find them friendly, and that they would allow us to treat with them at their village, but the fear of these poor creatures caused them to desert and burn it as we found it. We all regretted this circumstance, because we need them greatly, especially to acquire information of the country, and to accompany the explorers in their reconnoissance to find good camping places, and to serve as interpreters in the villages which are newly met with, so that they may not do what the others have done.

We halted on the bank of the river which the explorers had discovered not far from the burned village, which was near its very verdant and pleasant plain, full of cottonwoods, alders, tall oaks, live oaks, and other species not known to us. We saw in this place a bird which the heathen had killed and stuffed with straw; to some of our party it looked like a royal eagle. It was measured from tip to tip of the wings and found to measure eleven spans. For

this reason the soldiers called the stream Río del Pájaro,* and I added the name of La Señora Santa Ana. I could not make observations on account of the fog.

Monday, October 9.—This day was devoted to rest on account of the sick who are giving us anxiety, and in order to give an opportunity to explore for the next two marches.

Tuesday, October 10.—About eight in the morning we set out northwest. We could not make the march as long as was intended, because the sick men were worse, and each day their number increased, so we must have traveled but little more than one league, over plains and low hills, well forested with very high trees of a red color, not known to us. They have a very different leaf from cedars, and although the wood resembles cedar somewhat in color, it is very different, and has not the same odor; moreover, the wood of the trees that we have found is very brittle. In this region there is a great abundance of these trees and because none of the expedition recognizes them, they are named redwood from their color. We stopped near a lagoon† which has much pasture about it and a heavy growth of the redwoods. In this march

* Still called Pájaro River. Camp was near Watsonville. The route from this point to Soquel Creek (El Rosario), reached on October 16th, is difficult to trace with minute precision, but the explorers evidently ascended Corralitos Creek and swung round some distance to the north, for they crossed Soquel Creek a league from the coast.

† College Lake or Pinto Lake, evidently.

many tracks of animals resembling those of domestic cattle have been encountered, and there is some discussion as to whether they may not be buffalo. Some very large deer have also been seen, which they call stags to differentiate them from ordinary deer. The droppings of some mule-like animals have also been found. Bands of them have been seen, and it is said that they are long-eared and have short, flat tails. In the lagoons many cranes are also seen. The explorers say that near here they have seen many chestnut trees which are in flower, and they brought some few nuts, which we tasted, and they truly are chestnuts, the only difference noticed being that they have a thicker shell than those of Spain.

Wednesday, October 11.—During the night the sick became worse and others have been prostrated, for which reason the commander ordered a halt. We two said Mass this morning to the Most Holy Patriarch San José, for the recovery of the sick and the success of the expedition. We gave the viaticum and the holy oils to three more, the ones that are most seriously ill. The commander determined that while we were resting for the sick, the explorers should go out and examine everything as far as possible, so as to have that done. With this object Sergeant Ortega set out with eight soldiers, each one taking three mules for relay, for the animals have become very thin from the cold.

Thursday, October 12.—The sick men appear to be somewhat better this morning. We commended them to Nuestra Señora del Pilar, and in her honor we named this place the Lagoons and Chestnuts of Nuestra Señora del Pilar. I took the latitude, as the sun allowed itself to be seen, and it was thirty-seven degrees and thirty-five minutes.[103]

Friday, October 13.—Nothing special happened this day, nor is there any change in the condition of the sick.

Saturday, October 14.—This afternoon the explorers returned. The sergeant reported that he had gone ahead twelve leagues without getting any information of the harbor that we are looking for, and that he went to the foot of a high, white mountain range.

Sunday, October 15.—We two said Mass, commending to God the sick persons, who were feeling rather better. For this reason the commander decided that we should start, as we did, setting out northwest through a valley grown with redwoods, and over hills all covered with chestnuts. After half a league's travel we came to an arroyo with a good volume of water;* it seemed to be very much boxed in, with many trees along its banks, cottonwoods, alders, and willows, but there is no plain near by to make use of that water. We traveled only a league and a half on account of the fatigue of the sick persons, and we halted in a valley near another small lagoon which I named Santa Teresa† because

* Corralitos Creek. † Apparently in Pleasant Valley.

it was her day. The place has good pasture, and we had found the same along the road.

Monday, October 16.—We set out in the morning from this place, to the northwest, following the valley of the preceding day, and going afterwards through the thickest growth of chestnuts and redwoods, of which there are many extremely large ones. After traveling half a league we crossed the arroyo that I spoke of in the preceding journey, because it is very near the beach, and the range of hill which follows, which has good pasture, although it has just been burned by the heathen, who do not permit themselves to be seen. The march lasted three hours and a half, during which we traveled only two leagues because of the sick, but the poor creatures are slowly recovering. We stopped on the bank of a small stream, which has about four varas of deep running water. It has on its banks a good growth of cottonwoods and alders; on account of the depth at which it runs it may be that it cannot be utilized to water some plains through which it runs. It was named El Rosario del Beato Serafín de Asculi.*

Tuesday, October 17.—We set out about nine in the morning to the west-northwest, and traveled over good land well covered with grass and in sight of the seashore, although it was about a league away, and having the redwood trees still with us. We traveled for three hours and made about two

* Soquel Creek.

leagues, during which we found three arroyos, two of them with running water, one with a buey of water, and all with plains of good land and a heavy growth of cottonwoods and alders in their beds.[104]

At the end of the day's march we turned to the west. Not far from the sea we came to a large river,* which, in the place where we crossed it, must have been about eighteen varas wide, and which in the center reached to the bellies of the animals. It is one of the largest that we have met with on the journey. In its bed there is a thick growth of cottonwoods and alders, and it has good meadows for raising crops by irrigation. It is not far from the shore, and, according to what the explorers say, it empties into an estuary of a bay. We made camp on the other side of the river, the descent and ascent of which cost some trouble to clear and make a passage. Besides the growth along the river there are many redwoods. Not far from the stream we found a good patch of ground that is not burned, and it is a pleasure to see the grass and the variety of herbs and roses of Castile. This river was named San Lorenzo. We did not find a single heathen on it, nor did we see one in the whole day's march.

Wednesday, October 18.—About eight in the morning we started, taking our way along the coast, which runs to the west-northwest, over high hills, precipitous on the side towards the sea. Five hundred steps after we started we crossed a good

* San Lorenzo River.

arroyo of running water which descends from some high hills where it rises. It was named Santa Cruz.* Afterwards we crossed some large mesas of good land which could easily be irrigated with the water of this stream. The mesas, which end in cliffs at the sea, must be about one league wide, extending to some hills at the foot of the mountains. We traveled three hours and a half but only made two leagues, during which we descended and ascended four deep watercourses carrying running water which empties into the sea. Only in the watercourses are any trees to be seen; elsewhere we saw nothing but grass, and that was burned. About halfway on the march we left the redwoods behind us. We stopped at the fourth arroyo, which ends in an estuary; it was named Arroyo de San Lucas,† but the soldiers called it Las Puentes, because it was necessary to bridge it with poles and earth before it could be crossed.

Thursday, October 19, Day of San Pedro de Alcántara.—We set out about eight in the morning. The road on this march was very troublesome, on account of the frequent gulches along the way, for we crossed seven, and they caused a great deal of work in making them passable, especially one of them, on account of its depth and the steepness of its sides. In this one the mule that was loaded with the cooking pot fell down, and because of this accident it took the name of Barranca de la Olla.

* At Santa Cruz.

† Coja Creek.

The coast, which now turns more to the northwest, is all precipitous, except at the mouth of the ravine mentioned above, where a small beach is formed. On the right hand we had some bare white hills which caused sadness. We halted on a very high one in sight of the white mountains which the explorers discovered, and on which some patches of pines could be made out. At the foot of the hill run two very copious streams, one to the right and the other to the left. The day's march was two leagues and a half, and in it we spent about five hours. The spot did not seem to me undesirable for a town, although we did not see a single heathen, but we did see vestiges of a village which had been deserted shortly before. I called the place San Pedro de Alcántara, and the soldiers know it as El Alto de Junín.*

Friday, October 20.—In order to leave this place we had to ascend a very long ridge after crossing the arroyo which runs at the foot of the hill to the north, and it was necessary to open a road by force of the pick. In this task the whole morning was spent, and we therefore started late. We traveled for a long space on the ridge of a chain of rough broken hills which drop to the sea, and halted on the same beach at the mouth of an arroyo or valley, about a league from where we started. In this short stretch the coast runs northwest by north. The valley is open to the north-northwest,[105] and it

* Scott Creek.

enters the land in the same direction something like a league. From here the coast runs west by northwest;[106] it is low and full of rocks which are but little elevated above the water. This spot or arroyo I named Valley of San Luís Beltrán.* The point that we judged to be Año Nuevo is about a league from our camp, and so we still found ourselves on the great bay which we supposed to be the port of Monterey.

Saturday, October 21.—This day was set aside for the explorers to spend the whole day in the reconnoissance, and to serve as a rest for the sick, who do not feel any worse, although their improvement is slight. I observed the latitude, which I have not been able to do for so many days on account of the fog, and it came out thirty-seven degrees and twenty-two minutes, while for Señor Constanzó it resulted thirty-seven degrees and three minutes. This afternoon and in the night heavy rain fell, together[107] with a very strong wind from the south which stirred up a storm on the sea.

Sunday, October 22.—This day broke very cloudy and dark, with all the people wet and fatigued from loss of sleep for lack of tents, so that it was necessary to rest to-day and dry the clothing, our greatest anxiety being lest the poor sick persons with us might be harmed by the wetting. But exactly the contrary happened, and it seemed as though God had sent them health with the drenching, for to the

* Waddell Creek.

surprise of everybody they began to improve, and in a short time were entirely recovered, thanks to God, to whom we attributed this special blessing. For this reason the valley was renamed La Salud.

Monday, October 23.—About half-past eight we set out from this valley of La Salud, following the beach, where there is pasture, but after half a league passage is cut off by the precipitous Sierra Blanca. Arriving near a point of low land which projects far into the sea, we climbed a mesa of level land which turns northwest by north. This mesa, which ends at the beach, must be about a league and a half long, half a league wide, and near the mountains a quarter. We traveled two leagues in three hours, and halted in a little valley between hills near a village of heathen, which for some days we had been wishing to find. They had already learned of our coming from the explorers. They welcomed us with demonstrations of pleasure, and immediately gave us some tamales made of seeds, some of acorns and some of other kinds of seeds, as well as a certain kind of honeycomb which some of our party said was bee honey. They brought it very neatly wrapped in leaves of the reed grass. Their gift was repaid with beads, which pleased them greatly.

In the middle of the village there was an immense house of a spherical form, large enough to hold all the people of the town, and around it there were some little houses of a pyramidal form, very small, constructed of stakes of pine. Because the large

house rose above the others the soldiers called it Village of the Casa Grande, but I dedicated it to San Juan Nepomuceno. There is a good arroyo* of water here, much pasture, and an abundance of firewood, and not far from the village there is a grove of redwoods.

Tuesday, October 24.—We set out at half-past eight with two heathen of this village who came[108] to guide us, taking a northerly direction, in sight of the sea, over high, broad hills of good land, but all burned over and despoiled of trees. Only through the openings is to be seen the Sierra Blanca which still remains with us, but after half a league's travel there were some groves of redwoods. We crossed two arroyos, each one of which carried more than a buey of water. In two leagues we crossed two valleys with very good land and an abundance of running water in each, measuring more than a buey. One of them, besides the water spoken of, has a fair-sized lagoon.† This is a fine place, with good lands and an abundance of water, where a good mission could be placed; for this purpose I give it as patron San Pedro Regalado, which name it will keep.

It is a pleasure to see the great number of blackberries in this place, so thick that they prevent us from walking. After traveling seven hours, in which we made two[109] leagues, we arrived at the camping

* Gazos Creek.

† The two arroyos crossed were Arroyo de los Frijoles and Pescadero Creek. The lake mentioned is still at Arroyo de los Frijoles, halfway between Bolsas Point and Pescadero Point.

place, which is in a small valley with a good village of heathen, who received us with much friendliness. They are fair, well formed, and some of them are bearded. They have their village near the beach, about half a league from the camping place; but they also have their little houses in this valley, and at present are living in them. The valley has a great deal of land, much of it good; in the middle of it there is an arroyo with plenty of running water which goes to the beach, on whose edge, lower down, these heathen have their village. The only shortcoming that I[110] noticed was the scarcity of wood, but the mountains are near, and there is plenty of brush from the redwoods. I believe the place is a good site for a mission, for which purpose I dedicated it to our Father Santo Domingo, so that the conversion of this village may proceed under his patronage.*

Wednesday, October 25.—On account of the long march that was made yesterday some of the pack animals were tired, and for that reason a rest is being taken to-day, which will give the explorers time to go and reconnoiter with guides from this village. I observed the latitude and it was thirty-seven degrees and thirty minutes. The heathen gave us many tamales made of black seeds, which are not so bad, so the soldiers say, for making atole. To-day the miniestra for the soldiers was exhausted, and the meat for them was used up several days ago, so

* This camp was at San Gregorio Creek, near the coast.

that they are reduced to only five tortillas a day, one for breakfast, two for dinner, and two for supper, a very small ration for so much work; but there is nothing else to give them, and the poor fellows content themselves with this short ration.

Thursday, October 26.—Captain Don Fernando de Rivera arose ill with the common sickness of scurvy, and with diarrhoea, of which many soldiers are complaining also, for which reason no march was made to-day. The other sick men, about whom we felt great anxiety before, continue to improve,[111] thank God.

Friday, October 27.—The captain arose better this morning, and the rest of the sick also, so we set out at a quarter past nine, taking the road to the north over high hills, all burned. After traveling a short distance we came upon sloping mesas near the beach, precipitous to the sea, and not a single tree to be seen on them. There are deep descents to three arroyos which empty into the ocean. After three hours' travel in which we must have advanced two leagues, we halted near the beach, on the bank of the third arroyo, where we found vestiges of a village, but, according to what we were told by four heathen from the preceding village who have accompanied us, the people of this one have moved to the mountains. I named this place Arroyo de San Ibón.* All the inquisitive persons who wished to see the habitations which had been abandoned by the heathen, some few grass huts, were covered with

* Now called Purísima Creek.

fleas, for which reason the soldiers called it Village of Las Pulgas. In this day's march they had to repair the descent into the arroyos, which gave plenty to do; it ends at the beach.

Saturday, October 28.—On this day of the Holy Apostles San Simón and San Judas, after we two had said Mass, we set out about ten in the morning, traveling near the beach and over low mesas of good land, although all the grass had been burned. We traveled about two leagues in two hours and a half, and came to a large arroyo near the beach which carries a good volume of running water, halting on its bank. During the entire march the country has been bare of trees, and only behind a mountain range where we saw a higher one are there to be seen some groves, which they say are pines. From the camp a very long point of land which runs out into the sea is visible; at the end of it there is a great deal of low land, with many large rocks, which at this distance appear to be farallones, and which stretch to the west. The four heathen from the village of our father Santo Domingo, who are following us and serving as guides, tell us that near that point there is a good village of heathen. These four wished us to camp there, and I wished it as much as they did, in order to see the place and the poor unfortunates who live in it; but we could not do so, as it was late and the men were very tired. I named this arroyo The Holy Apostles San Simón and San Judas. In this place there are many geese, and for

this reason the soldiers named it the plain of Los Ansares.*

From the camp the above-named point lies to the north-northwest, and the high rocks look like two thick farallones of an irregular and pointed shape. On seeing these indications we did not know what to think. We believed that we were now in latitude thirty-seven degrees and a half, without being able to say whether we were distant from or near to the port of Monterey. Every little while it rained on us, and the men were downcast and reduced to only five tortillas a day, made of flour mixed with bran. No grain remained, and only a little meat which was reserved for the sick. They talked of killing mules for the healthy ones to eat, but the soldiers refused to accept this relief until the last extremity. The commander, as a consolation for their misfortunes, fell ill; the captain continued to suffer from his sickness; and many were afflicted with a diarrhoea which prostrated them. However, it appears that this trouble was remedial, for with it they felt relieved of the greater ill from which many were suffering, the scurvy, which had made even greater ravages on those who had come in the ships, and they were relieved without any other medicine than the new disorder of the diarrhoea. They were undoubtedly improving, for by this means nature was discharging the humors which had caused the epidemics. The change of

* Pilarcitos Creek, just north of the town of Half Moon Bay (or possibly Frenchman Creek). The point of land is Pillar Point.

weather contributed to it, also the cessation of the northwest winds, the benefit of the rains, and the beginning of land breezes, which no doubt purified the air that was so noxious to us, for they immediately perceived that the swelling in their legs went down. The acute pains which they had previously felt in all their limbs and which had kept them constantly groaning,[112] ceased, and the swelling of the gums diminished, so that they took some consolation and hope of soon recovering entirely.

Sunday, October 29.—It rained all night, and morning broke very dark, for which reason and the illness of the commander, the departure was postponed. We two said Mass, everybody attending, for, thanks to God, although we had been somewhat indisposed it was nothing to cause anxiety, and commended to God the health of the sick and the success of the expedition. The people of the village on the point came to visit us and gave us some tamales made of black seeds which have not a bad taste; they are good for atole, especially for those who watch the animals and go out early in the morn to explore.

Monday, October 30.—The day opened clear, with a pleasing aspect, and the sick felt better. Accordingly the governor decided to resume the march, which was done. We started about nine in a northwesterly direction along the beach, near which there are mesas and low hills with good grass although[113] burned. We crossed four or five arroyos,

with good streams of running water, which caused us some trouble and delay, because it was necessary in some cases to bridge them before the pack train could cross. Near the point was noticed a good little bay, with pasture, good water and land, which would be suitable for a town if there were any firewood; but it lacks this advantage, for not even a twig could be found, for which reason they had to carry the wood necessary for the use of the people from the preceding camping place. We stopped not far from the shore at the foot of some hills which prevent us from passing along the beach. They form a valley sheltered from the north, from which flows an arroyo with plenty of good water.* The camp was pitched on its bank, after a march of two leagues, which we made in three hours and a half. I called the point Angel Custodio, but on account of the large number of mussels which they found on this beach, very good and large, the men called it Punta de las Almejas.†

Tuesday, October 31.—The high hills, which are without rocks, prevent passage by the beach, and although the ascent to them is not difficult the descent in any place is arduous. For this reason the sergeant started out early in the day with the soldiers to repair the descent, and we set out about ten in the morning. As soon as we ascended to the summit we descried a great bay formed by a point of land which runs far out into the open sea and looks like an island. Farther out, about west-

* San Vicente Creek. † San Pedro Point is meant here.

northwest from where we stood and a little to the southwest of the point, six or seven white farallones of different sizes were to be seen. Following the coast of the bay to the north some white cliffs are visible, and to the northwest is the mouth of an estuary which seems to penetrate into the land. In view of these signs, and of what is stated in the itinerary of the pilot Cabrera Bueno, we came to the recognition of this port; it is that of Our Father San Francisco, and we have left that of Monterey behind. Filled with these doubts and arguments, we descended from the hill and pitched camp in the middle of a small valley, some six hundred varas long and about a hundred wide, which has plenty of water in two small arroyos which unite to enter the sea. The valley has a great deal of reed grass and many blackberries and roses; there are a few trees in the beds of the arroyos, and some moderate-sized willows, but on the hills there was not a single tree to be seen except some on a mountain range which encircles this bay.

Not far from the camp we found a village of very friendly heathen, who, as soon as we arrived, came to visit us with their present of tamales made of black seeds. Judging by the fires that we have seen on the beach it must be well populated with villages.

From this beach the farallones lie west by southwest and the point which I believe to be Point Reyes, and is the one that forms and encloses the

bay at the northern end, lies west by northwest. All the signs that we find here we read in the itinerary of the pilot Cabrera Bueno, from which we conclude that this is the port of San Francisco,* and we are confirmed in this by the latitude in which we find ourselves, which is a full thirty-seven and a half degrees; for although that author places it in thirty-eight and a half, that does not disturb me, considering that we have observed that this happens in all his reckonings whenever he describes this coast and its latitudes. For example, he puts the harbor of San Diego in thirty-four degrees, while in the observations repeatedly made there it came out a little more than thirty-two degrees and a half. Point Concepción, we found in thirty-four and one-half degrees while he puts it in thirty-five and a half. And so it would not be surprising if this harbor, which is in full thirty-seven and a half degrees, should turn out to be that of our father San Francisco, since we find all the other signs that the author gives for the port referred to.

Some of our party do not yet believe that we have left the port of Monterey behind or that we are on that of my father San Francisco. In order to clear it up entirely the commander ordered that during the day Sergeant Ortega should go out with a party of soldiers to explore, and that we should wait until their return.

* The Gulf of the Farallones, with Drake's Bay at the northern extremity. The camp was on San Pedro Creek, near San Pedro station.

CHAPTER XIV

MARCH MADE BY THE EXPEDITION IN NOVEMBER

Wednesday, November 1.—In this little valley of Punta de las Almejas del Angel de la Guarda, both friars celebrated Mass, which everybody heard. After Mass the sergeant set out, with the understanding that he was to be gone only three days. On this day I observed the latitude, and found it to be thirty-seven degrees and forty-nine minutes, while for Señor Constanzó it came out thirty-seven degrees and twenty-four minutes.

Thursday, November 2.—To-day, All Souls' Day, we two celebrated Mass for the souls in Purgatory, and after Mass some of the soldiers asked permission to go out to hunt, for many deer have been seen. Some of them went quite a distance from the camp and climbed the hills, so that it was already night when they returned. They said that toward the north they had seen an immense arm of the sea, or an estuary, which penetrated into the land as far as the eye could reach, extending to the southeast; that they had seen some beautiful plains well adorned with trees, and that the smokes which they

saw in all directions left no doubt that the country was thickly populated with heathen villages. This report confirmed us still more in the opinion that we were on the port of Our Father San Francisco, and that the arm of the sea which they told us about was certainly the estuary of which the pilot Cabrera Bueno spoke, the mouth of which we had not seen because we went down to the harbor through a ravine. That pilot, speaking of it, uses these words: "Through the opening in the center enters[114] an estuary of salt water without any breaking of the waves at all, and by going in one will find friendly Indians and can easily take on water and wood." We conjectured also from these reports that the explorers could not have crossed to the opposite shore which was seen to the north, and consequently, would not succeed in exploring the point which we judge to be that of Los Reyes, for it would be impossible in the three days that they were to be gone to make the detour that they would unavoidably have to make to round the estuary, whose extent the hunters represented as being very great.

Friday, November 3.—To-day we had a feast on the good and very large mussels that are to be found in such abundance in this harbor. At night the explorers returned, firing loud salutes, thus letting us know in advance that they were bringing some good news. They told us what they had learned or inferred from the uncertain signs made by the heathen; that is, that two days' march from the place

which they had reached, which was the end or head of the estuary, there was a harbor and a ship in it. As a result of this many now believed that we were at Monterey, and that the packet *San José* or the *San Carlos* was awaiting us. And certainly our necessities made us wish, even if we did not believe, that we were in Monterey instead of San Francisco. In consequence of these reports the commander decided to continue the journey in search of the port and ship of which the heathen had given information to our explorers.

Saturday, November 4.—We celebrated this day in honor of San Carlos, the patron of the royal presidio and mission to be founded at the port of Monterey, and also in honor of our king, Don Carlos III (whom God keep) by performing the holy sacrifice of Mass in this little valley, on the beach of the harbor, without the least doubt, of my Father San Francisco. About one in the afternoon we set out to continue the journey, following the beach to the north. We then entered the mountains, directing our course to the northeast and from the summit of a peak we beheld the great estuary or arm of the sea, which must have a width of four or five leagues, and extends to the southeast and south-southeast. Keeping it always on the left hand, and, turning our backs to the bay, we took a valley open to the south and southeast.[115] After three hours' travel in which we made two leagues, we halted in a valley at the foot of a mountain range covered with low, very

green woods, and having near the camp a grove of live oaks on the west slope of the mountains.*

Sunday, November 5.—After we had celebrated and all had heard Mass, orders were given to march, and we set out about nine in the morning, which was very cloudy. We traveled in a southerly direction along the edge of the estuary, but without seeing it, as we were prevented by the hills of the valley which we were following. On the right hand we had delightful mountains, with many groves of live oaks and redwoods. We traveled four hours and a half, in which we must have made three and a half leagues, and halted near a lake† formed by an arroyo of good water, with unlimited pasture and numberless geese in the same valley, in which there have been seen many tracks of large animals, which they say are bears or buffalo. Many deer have been seen in herds, and the explorers declare they saw a band of fifty of them in this place. Shortly before we left three very gentle heathen came to visit us; they came as envoys from their respective villages to invite us to go and camp with them, and they brought us their present of black tamales and a little fruit like a plum. Their gifts were returned with some beads, and they went on with us. In these last two days' marches may madroños have been found, and although the fruit is smaller than that of Spain it is of the same species.

* On the west slope of Sweeny Ridge, west of San Andreas Lake.

† Near the southern end of Crystal Springs Lake.

Monday, November 6.—At nine in the morning we set out from the camp, following the same valley. We traveled through it for another three and a half leagues, through very charming country, more thickly grown with redwoods, live oaks, and oaks loaded with acorns. Two numerous villages of heathen came to meet us with demonstrations of great pleasure, bringing us a good present of pinole, black tamales, and porridge made of acorns, which relieved in part the hunger of the men, who were reduced, as I have already said, to only five tortillas a day. The heathen invited us to go and camp in their villages, saying they would feed us. The commander excused himself, saying we had to go on. They were very sorry at this, and although they were given some beads, they still showed sadness and regret because we did not accept the invitation. We followed the valley till we came to the end of it. Here terminate the hills which we have had on our left hand between us and the estuary. At the same time the mountains on the right hand, which with the hills form the valley by which we came, and which was called Nuestro Padre San Francisco, suddenly turn to the east, and enclose the estuary in a spacious valley. We traveled a little farther in the same direction, and in a short time halted on the bank of an arroyo whose waters descend from the mountains and run precipitously to this estuary.*

* San Francisquito Creek, near Palo Alto. Costansó tells us that they turned east (from Searsville Lake) before making camp, and halted near the bay.

Tuesday, November 7.—The commander decided that we should stop in this valley while the explorers went out again to acquire certain information regarding the port and ship that they understood the heathen to mean. They were given four days to be gone, and took with them their ration of flour to keep off hunger for that time. They started in the afternoon, accompanied by some heathen from these neighboring villages.

Wednesday, November 8.—This day nothing special happened. I observed the latitude to be thirty-seven degrees and forty-six minutes.

Thursday, November 9.—The men, on account of the lack of meat and other food, through necessity took to eating acorns, of which there is an abundance now ripe; but most of them experienced serious injury to their health, having indigestion and fever.

Friday, November 10.—On the night of this day the explorers returned, very sad, and no longer believing in the reports of the heathen, which they confessed they had not understood. They said that all the territory which they examined to the northeast and north was impassable because of the scarcity of pasture and especially[116] because of ferocity and ill-temper of the heathen, who received them angrily and tried to stop their passage. They said also that they had seen another estuary* of

* This was San Pablo Bay. The explorers went far enough north to be able to see this bay from a distance.

equal magnitude and extent with the one which we had in sight and with which it communicated, but that in order to go round it one would have to travel many leagues; and that they saw no signs that might indicate the proximity of the port where it terminates, and that the mountains were rough and difficult.

Saturday, November 11.—The report of the explorers having been heard, in view of the state of the expedition in the matter of provisions as well as of health and strength, the commander decided to call a council of officers in order to determine, with the aid of their opinions, what course to pursue in the present circumstances, and they invited us two friars to take part so that we might also give our opinions.

The council was held after asking the aid of God for its success and the assistance of the Holy Spirit, which was asked for in the holy sacrifice of the Mass, celebrated with this object. Being assembled in His name and congregated in the field-tent of the commander, all the officers gave their votes in writing. They were unanimously of the opinion that it was necessary to turn back, for they saw that the harbor of Monterey must have been left behind, and considered it foolhardy to go on after having seen in the coast all the marks of the harbor of San Francisco, according to the descriptions and signs given by the pilot Cabrera Bueno in his itinerary. We friars were of the same opinion,

adding that on the return another examination should be made of the Point of Pines that we had seen in the beginning of October. Although the commander was inclined to go ahead, in deference to the general opinion he had to agree, so he decided that plans should be made to begin the retreat this afternoon.

CHAPTER XV

THE EXPEDITION RETURNS TO SAN DIEGO

We set out on the 11th of November in the afternoon and retraced our steps two leagues, stopping for the night in the same valley of our father San Francisco.*

Sunday, November 12.—After we two had said Mass in the presence of all the men we left the camp, following the valley of San Francisco to the north-northwest and north. We traveled four and a half leagues, and halted near a small lake in the same valley of our father San Francisco.

Monday, November 13.—We traveled two leagues along the same road by which we had come, and halted near the shore of the harbor of San Francisco.

Tuesday, November 14.—We traveled one league and camped in the valley of Las Almejas in the same spot where we had been before, about a league distant from the point of Ángel Custodio. Señor Constanzó took the latitude here and it was thirty-seven degrees and thirty-one minutes.

Wednesday, November 15.—This day we rested, so that the men might employ themselves in getting a supply of mussels, of which there is a great abundance, and they are large and good.

* For the camp sites during November, see p. 230.

Thursday, November 16.—From the day that we came in sight of this harbor of Our Father San Francisco until to-day when we are leaving it, we have had every day a serene sky, without clouds or fog; but to-day there is a thick mist in the east, with a south wind that makes us fear rain. Notwithstanding this we set out and traveled a league and a half, and halted in the camp of the holy apostles San Simón and San Judas, which is the plain of Los Ansares, where there was such a multitude of these geese that some soldiers who went out hunting killed twenty-two, the Divine Providence designing in this way to relieve the hunger of these poor[117] travelers.

Friday, November 17.—This morning broke very cloudy, and as soon as we started on our way it began to rain, and in the whole three leagues that we traveled it was falling on us. We halted on the banks of a deep arroyo.

Saturday, November 18.—We traveled this day three more leagues and halted in the valley of San Ibón, where we had been on the 27th of October. We found the village deserted just as it was before. We went on and halted in a long valley on the bank of an arroyo with plenty of water.

Sunday, November 19.—After we two friars said Mass, we broke camp and marched four leagues; we passed by the village of San Juan Nepomuceno, alias La Casa Grande, and found it deserted. We went one league farther on and halted on a steep rock, in sight of the point which we judged to be Año

Nuevo, on the bank of an arroyo which empties into the sea.

Monday, November 20.—This day we traveled only two leagues and camped at San Pedro de Alcántara, alias El Alto de Jamón.*

Tuesday, November 21.—We traveled this day two and a half leagues and camped in the same place where we halted on the 18th of October, which we called Arroyo de las Puentes de San Lucas. On this and the preceding days the soldiers killed a great many geese, the flocks of these birds that are seen at every step being uncountable. Some of the soldiers' messes have twelve of them saved up. Blessed be the Divine Providence which relieves us in our direst need!

Wednesday, November 22.—To-day we set out and forded the San Lorenzo River, and then continued as far as the place named El Rosario de San Serefino, where we were on the 16th of October, and thus we traveled four leagues. On the way they killed many geese.

Thursday, November 23.—We traveled this day three leagues and a half, and halted on the site of Los Avellanos† de Nuestra Señora del Pilar, which the men called Laguna del Corral, and where we rested on the 11th of October and the three succeeding days. Thus we had left behind the camp of Lagunilla de Santa Teresa, passing through it without stopping in order to hasten on as fast as possible.

* Called Junín on the northward journey.

† The Hazelnuts.

Friday, November 24.—This day the explorers set out early, charged to carefully examine the coast and everything else.[118] We followed after them, but by a straight road which runs somewhat inland. We passed by the village of Santa Ana, alias El Pájaro, which we found deserted as when we came, and went on a league farther, halting near a lagoon which the soldiers called El Macho. The place is short of firewood, although there is an abundance of pasture on the low hills near by.

Saturday, November 25.—On this day the men and animals rested to give the explorers time to examine the coast with more care. They spent the whole day in this way and returned at night without bringing any special news.

Sunday, November 26.—After we two friars had said Mass we broke camp and traveled this day five leagues, until we reached the river and valley of Santa Delfina, where we camped from the first until the sixth of October inclusive. On the road we found a new village of heathen who were building a town, making their spherical-shaped houses of poles and tule. According to what the explorers said these were the same ones whom they had seen in the village of El Pájaro. They found them there, but we always found the village deserted.

Monday, November 27.—In the morning we set out from the camp of Santa Delfina and went up the river about a league, where the water is now fresh, unmixed with that of the estuary, and where we

found that it could be forded without difficulty. The river crossed, we took the road to the south until we came very near the beach, the edges of which are made up of large sand dunes, on whose skirts we continued our journey, veering to the southeast,[119] which is the direction of the coast. All the ground that we traversed is sandy, covered with brush, with some patches of small live oaks, and very little pasture. We rounded a medium-sized lagoon of fresh water, traveling upon some sand dunes which we found between it and the sea. We halted in sight of the Point of Pines (recognized, as was said, in the beginning of October) and camped near a small lagoon which has rather muddy water, but abounds in pasture and firewood. Here the geese began to be scarce, no doubt because of the proximity of the mountains.

Tuesday, November 28.—We set out in the morning, following the beach, which we had on our right hand. We entered a very large pine forest before ascending the pine-covered ridge which we soon mounted. On the other side of the ridge we halted where we found a medium-sized bay with shelter from north and northwest winds, because the Point of Pines referred to, extending to the west-northwest, serves to protect it.

On the south this bay has another point which defends it from the south and southwest winds; but it cannot be learned what its bottom is like for lack of a launch and a canoe for sounding. Out in the

water it has many flat rocks, without any beach whatever, unless it is on the east side, where an estuary of salt water enters the land. It receives the waters of a small but copious little river which comes down from the mountains through a valley. We crossed the estuary and stopped on the edge of the shore, near another arroyo of good water in a place abounding in pasture and firewood.

Wednesday, November 29.—The commander resolved to rest at this place and send out the explorers to examine the coast, following the skirt of the mountain range, with the intention that we should take that road, for according to the descriptions that they had brought, he was confident and hopeful of finding the port of Monterey, which we were seeking.

Thursday, November 30.—To-day the explorers were to go out, but some hindrance came up, so it was put off till the next day. In this place the animals fared well, on account of the abundance of pasture; but, as there was no game or fish, and even mussels were not to be found on the beach, the men suffered greatly from hunger. The soldiers appeased it with sea gulls and pelicans, but even their hunger did not make this meat palatable. Señor Constanzó made observations in this place, and the latitude came out the same as it is at the bay of Cádiz, thirty-six degrees and thirty-six minutes. The cold was intense here, and north winds, which usually last forty-eight hours, are frequent. The coast from the

Point of Pines mentioned inclines to the south and the stretch which is in sight runs from the southern point of the bay southeast-by-south.

This afternoon ten or twelve heathen came to see us. They say they have their village in the valley of the river which empties into the estuary. They brought as a present a good ration of pinole and seeds, which was divided among the men, and the commander reciprocated with some beads.*

* On the return journey to Monterey Bay the expedition camped on the 11th near Woodside; on the 12th at San Andreas Lake, or possibly at Pilarcitos Lake; on the 13th on San Pedro Creek; on the 14th at San Vicente Creek; on the 15th at Half Moon Bay; on the 17th at Tunitas Creek; on the 18th at Pescadero Creek; on the 19th at Año Nuevo Creek; on the 20th at Scott Creek; on the 21st at Coja Creek; on the 22d at Soquel Creek; on the 23d in Corralitos Valley; on the 24th near Elk Slough; on the 26th on the Salinas River southeastward of Blanco. On the 27th they crossed the Salinas and went to camp on the site of Monterey. On the 28th they halted beyond Carmel River, near Point Lobos, where they remained in camp until December 10. It was from this camp that the exploration of Santa Lucía Range was made, and it was here that the council was held December 7.

CHAPTER XVI

MARCH MADE BY THE EXPEDITION IN THE MONTH OF DECEMBER ON THE RETURN TO SAN DIEGO

Friday, December 1.—The captain set out this morning with the party of men to explore the mountains, and with six Indians to make themselves useful in clearing and opening the road, taking a supply of tortillas sufficient to last several days. To-day a mule was killed to ration the men, but no one ate of it except some of the volunteer European soldiers and the California Indians.

Saturday, December 2.—Two of the mulatto muleteers, who yesterday asked permission to go hunting, have not returned up to this time, and we are all anxious about them, fearing they may have received some harm from the heathen, or may have deserted and will be lost in this wilderness.

Sunday, December 3.—To-day, the day of San Francisco Xavier, we both said Mass and all the people heard it. In the afternoon a south wind rose and it rained hard on us.

Monday, December 4.—To-day at nightfall the captain arrived with his soldiers, tired from the rough nature of the mountains. They told us they

had to go on foot most of the way as far as their exploration reached. From it they drew the complete certainty that those mountains are the Santa Lucía Range, because of the signs which were found to conform to those given in the itinerary of the pilot Cabrera Bueno, such as a high white cliff extending somewhat along the coast, which can be seen for many leagues out at sea, and a rock shaped like a large top which resembles a farallon and is about six leagues from the Point of Pines. They came back lacking two of the six California Indians whom they had taken, for they disappeared and the men are convinced that they have deserted.

Tuesday, December 5.—In view of what is said above about Sierra de Santa Lucía, for without doubt it is that range which we have at the back of this camp, and since we have not found in this vicinity the very celebrated harbor of Monterey, which was enthusiastically described in their time by men of character, skill, and intelligence, experienced navigators who came expressly to explore these coasts by order of the king who was then governing in the Spains; we have to say that it is not to be found, after the most exacting efforts made at the cost of much sweat and fatigue. Or perhaps it may be said that it has been hidden or destroyed by the passage of time, although we have not seen indications to support this view. I therefore suspend my opinion in regard to the matter, but what I can certainly say is that although every effort has been made on the part

of the commander and his officers and soldiers, that harbor has not been found. But God permitted us to reach the harbor of my Father San Francisco, and we recognized it to be such, according to the descriptions given in ancient histories; and below Monterey, which is the goal of our long journey, we recognize some marks, such as Sierra de Santa Lucía, the rock shaped like a large top and the Point of Pines.[120] But no harbor at all is found, nor have we seen in the whole journey any country more depopulated than that of this vicinity, nor wilder peopled, as is seen by this diary, although the contrary is stated in the diary of the voyage made by the commander Sebastian Vizcaíno, in which it is said that Monterey is well populated with extremely good heathen. But even this is more easily to be changed than a harbor as famous as Monterey was in the preceding centuries. So I repeat that I suspend my judgment and leave it to the time when we shall be relieved of all doubt and perplexity.

The commander, having heard the report of the captain concerning the exploration of Sierra de Santa Lucía, explained to his officers their sad situation, with no provisions but sixteen sacks of flour, without hope of finding the harbor and with it the ship which could relieve us and support us on land, and called them to a council, summoning them in writing to come to the meeting in order that he might make a decision after their opinions were heard. He invited us two friars for the same pur-

pose, handing us a paper in which he asked us to attend the meeting called for to-morrow. We were aware that the commander was inclined to divide the expedition into two divisions, one to go to San Diego, and the other to remain in this place to await the bark, for, perhaps, after its coming it would be easier to recognize and find the desired harbor.

As soon as I heard his plan I told him I would gladly remain, and my father companion, Fray Francisco Gómez, said the same, for we were willing to sacrifice ourselves to suffer whatever might come, to accomplish the desired purpose of finding the harbor of Monterey; for we both believed that if that harbor should not be found it might cause the abandonment of the reduction and conversion of this multitude of heathen whom we have seen in these widespread lands; whereas, if the harbor should be discovered it would no doubt start the founding of the missions, and much glory would result to God, the welfare of souls, and the honor of the crown of our king. For the success of the decision in the council that is to be held to-morrow, I have asked the commander to have all the men attend Mass; and to-morrow, the day of San Nicolás I will make a vow to the Holy Ghost in order to ask him to give light to us all, and determine what is the best course to follow for the greater glory of God and the success of the expedition.

Wednesday, December 6.—To-day I celebrated the Mass of the Holy Ghost, at which all the people

were present, and all commended this important matter to God. In order to give more time to think it over and afford each person opportunity and time to discuss this very important matter, the commander allowed one more day's time, putting off the decision until the following day, the Eve of the Immaculate[121] Conception of Most Holy Mary, patroness of the kingdoms of Spain.

Thursday, December 7.—This day, after having repeated the supplications to God for success in the holy sacrifice of the Mass, the council was held. Some were of the opinion that it was best to remain at the Point of Pines until the existing provisions should be entirely consumed, and then start on the return with the determination to eat mule meat for the rest of the journey. Others were of the opinion that the expedition should be divided, part to remain at this place and the rest to go on to San Diego, but several difficulties came in the way of both plans. Everything considered, the small amount of provisions remaining, the extreme cold that was now prevailing, and the snow that was beginning to cover the neighborhood, the commander himself decided to retreat, remarking that if the pass through the mountains should be closed against them it was inevitable that all should perish. This afternoon a very violent south wind arose which caused a great storm on the sea and annoyed us considerably on land.

Friday, December 8.—On this day we celebrated the feast of our beloved prelate, first performing the holy sacrifice of the Mass, which was heard by all, the weather continuing so raw and tempestuous as not to permit us to move from the camp.

Saturday, December 9.—The storm lasted all day until night, when it cleared up. The California Indians who are with the expedition found on the beach an iron hoop, very large and much worn, which, when it was new, must have weighed several arrobas. It is thought it must have come from some ship's mast.

Sunday, December 10.—We two said Mass with all the men present. The day having dawned very clear, the commander decided to start, but that first a large holy cross which had been made for the purpose should be set up. On it were inscribed these words: "*Dig at the foot and you will find a letter,*" so that if any of the packets should arrive in this vicinity it would get news of the land expedition, and in accordance with it, would decide to return to San Diego. The letter, which was buried in a bottle at the foot of the cross, copied literally, ran in this manner:

The Letter Buried at the Foot of the Cross

"The land expedition which left San Diego on the 14th of July, 1769, by order of the governor of California, Don Gaspar de Portolá, entered the channel of Santa Bárbara on the 9th day of August, passed

Point Concepción on the 27th of the same month; arrived at the foot of Sierra de Santa Lucía on the 13th of September; entered that range on the 17th of the same month; finished crossing the range or completely rounding it on the 1st of October; observed on the same day the Point of Pines and the bays to the north and south of it, without seeing any signs of the harbor of Monterey, and resolved to go on in search of it. On the 30th of October it came in sight of the point of Los Reyes and the farallones of the port of San Francisco, seven in number. The expedition attempted to reach Point Reyes, but some immense estuaries which penetrate extraordinarily into the land made it necessary to make a very long detour. And there were other difficulties, the greatest being the lack of provisions, which made it necessary to return, thinking that the harbor of Monterey might perhaps be within the mountains and that the expedition had passed it without seeing it. It started on the return from the head of the estuary of San Francisco on the 11th of November; passed Point Año Nuevo on the 19th of the same month, and again arrived at this Point and Bay of Pines on the 27th of the same month. From that day until the present 9th of December it has made efforts to find the harbor of Monterey within the range, skirting it by the shore, in spite of its ruggedness, but in vain. At last, disappointed and despairing of finding it after such efforts and labors, with no provisions except fourteen sacks of flour,

the expedition set out to-day from this bay for San Diego. It prays the All-Powerful God to guide it, and that His Divine Providence may lead thee, sailor, to the port of salvation. At the Bay of Pines, December 9th, 1769.

"Note

"Engineer Don Miguel Constanzó observed the latitude of several places on the coast, the following being the principal ones:

"San Diego, in the camp occupied by the land expedition, thirty-two degrees and forty-two minutes.

"The most eastern town of heathen on the channel of Santa Bárbara, thirty-four degrees and thirteen minutes.

"Point Concepción, thirty-four degrees and thirty minutes.

"The beginning of Sierra de Santa Lucía, thirty-five degrees and forty-five minutes.

"The end of the range at this bay of the Point of Pines, thirty-six degrees and thirty-six minutes.

"The point of Año Nuevo, which is low with rocky reefs, is in thirty-seven degrees and four minutes.[122]

"On land near the harbor of San Francisco, having the farallones west by north, thirty-seven degrees and thirty-five minutes.

"The point of Los Reyes, which was seen to the west-northwest from the same place, thirty-seven degrees and forty-four minutes.

"The commanders of the packets, whether it be the *San José* or *El Príncipe,* are begged, if within a few days from the date of this writing they land on this beach, after learning its contents and the sad state of the expedition, to endeavor to keep close to the shore and follow it to San Diego, so that if the expedition should have the good fortune to sight one of the two ships, and by signals with banners or gunshots could make them understand where it is, it would be possible to succor it with provisions.

"Blessed be God. The cross was planted on a hill on the edge of the beach of the little bay which lies to the south of the Point of Pines, and at the foot of it the letter was buried.

"On the other bay, made by the Point of Pines and the other point, which is judged to be Año Nuevo, where the sand dunes and a lagoon are, they set up another large cross, and on its arm they carved with a knife these words: '*The land expedition is returning to San Diego for lack of provisions, to-day, December 9, 1769,*' so that if any bark should touch in the other large bay it might serve to guide them."

These measures concluded, we set out from this bay to-day, December 10, 1769, traveled a league and a half, and halted on the other side of the Point of Pines.*

Monday, December 11.—We started in the morning over a plain toward the northeast[123] as far as the

* For the December camp sites, see p. 249.

river, which we forded, and camped somewhat above the ford in the same place where we had been on the 30th of September. The men succeeded in killing many geese, with which they relieved their hunger somewhat; the march covered four leagues.

Tuesday, December 12.—We followed the valley and river up-stream, and traveled three and a half leagues. After we two said Mass to Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, which was heard by all the people, we went to make camp at the place which we called Los Cazadores, where we had stopped on the 29th of September.

Wednesday, December 13.—We set out early in the morning, and after traveling three and a half leagues, we stopped at El Real Blanco, where many geese were killed. We saw large herds of deer, but far away.

Thursday, December 14.—After four league's travel we passed the camp of Los Alamos; some heathen came to see us and treated us to acorn porridge.

Friday, December 15.—This day we traveled four leagues, reaching the valley of San Elceareo, and halted in the same place where we had camped on the 26th of September, which the soldiers called Real del Chocolate.

Saturday, December 16.—We set out from this place, and, leaving the valley behind us, entered another open one which the explorers found, more convenient and with a better road by which to enter

Sierra de Santa Lucía, which runs from northwest to southeast. In this valley we found the village of Palo Caido,[124] and we stopped near a small water-place, where the animals could not drink. The march covered four leagues. In this day's journey one of the soldier explorers recovered a mule which he had left exhausted on the 26th of September. The heathen had taken such good care of it that they kept it in the village and carried water and grass to it, so that it had become very fat.

Sunday, December 17.—After we two had said Mass, all the men being present, we set out to the southwest. After leaving the valley of Palo Caido we traversed another more spacious one which has an arroyo of running water. We halted in the mountains on the bank of the river called Las Truchas de San Elcearco, where we were on the 21st of September. We traveled only two leagues.

Monday, December 18.—To-day we traveled only one league, and stopped at the camp of Los Piñones, where we had stopped on the 20th of September. We found all the arroyos now running, no doubt from the melting snow in the mountains, for at the beginning of this month it snowed a great deal all through the entire range.

Tuesday, December 19.—This day's march was very fatiguing, as it was through the roughest part of the mountains, this being the stretch which caused the most trouble when we came, where it was necessary then to open the road by dint of picks and hoes.

We traveled two leagues and came to the hollow in Sierra de Santa Lucía where we had been on the 20th of September. We found the friendly people who treated us so well at that time, and who did no less on this occasion.

Wednesday, December 20.—As the pack train arrived much fatigued, the commander decided that they should be given this day for rest. The provisions were now getting so low that the entire amount was reduced to five tierces of flour. It was divided among all in equal parts, each one receiving eight small cupfuls, from each of which five very thin tortillas could be made. By liberal count there would be forty round, well-trimmed tortillas, which anyone in the expedition, judging by our hunger, could finish in two days. This division was occasioned by the discovery that some of the soldiers were bold enough to steal the flour from the sacks, for which reason the commander took the step of dividing it in equal parts, each to guard his own. In this way all were equal and satisfied, as far as could be.

The governor gave the officers and us two priests a little biscuit which he had saved from what he brought from the mission of Purísima Concepción in California, and he also distributed a little chocolate that was left, and a ham, for the remainder of the journey, half of which yet remains for us to travel.

Thursday, December 21.—On this day of Santo Tomás we two said Mass and all the people heard it. We started out in the morning by the same road

which had been opened on the way up. We finally came out of Sierra de Santa Lucía, descended to the beach, which we followed for the space of a league and a half, and after three leagues' travel halted near a village of heathen, who came out to receive us, having been informed by the mountain Indians of our arrival. They told us by signs that they had had as a guest one of the men who had deserted at the bay of Point of Pines[125] in the first part of this month, and that he had been in the village for three days. They immediately went after him, and he did what he could to save them trouble, for as soon as he saw that they were going to the village he came to the camp, walking painfully on account of swollen feet.

The commander asked him why he had deserted. He replied that it had not been his intention to desert, but, having gone to the shore to shoot geese, his companion proposed to him that they should go on and follow the mountains along the coast, in order to be the first to discover the harbor[126] of Monterey and win the reward by returning to the camp with the news. They traveled all that day and the next, believing that if they should discover a point they would find the harbor behind it. Having gone so far as to absent themselves from camp for two days without leave, they were sure that they would not receive any greater punishment if they should remain four or five more without returning, and that if they should have the good

fortune to discover the harbor they would be forgiven for the fault, and, besides, would receive the reward. For this reason they decided to continue their journey until in sight of the end of the mountain range, which they succeeded in crossing with indescribable labor and fatigue, sometimes rolling down the declivities.

Being asked about his companion and the two California Indians who had also deserted, he replied that his companion had suffered even more than he from the effects of the journey, and had begged the Indians to allow him to remain in their company with some fishermen who were camped at the entrance to the mountains, until such time as he could again set foot to the ground for the purpose of resuming the return journey to the harbor of San Diego, where he was going, for he had not the courage to again cross the mountains to join the expedition, partly because he feared being punished, and partly because he had suffered even more from the roughness of the mountains.

Friday, December 22.—This day opened very cloudy, so that it was thought best not to leave the camping place.

Saturday, December 23.—We set out in the morning, although the weather was threatening, and we had the good fortune not to have the rain come down on us until we reached the camping place. We traveled three leagues by a more direct road than when we came, and halted on a hill near an arroyo

which was called El Laurel, on account of having seen laurel trees all along the road on the first trip. Near this arroyo we found a small village whose inhabitants gave us some of their seeds and pinole, which we returned with beads. All the afternoon and in the night it rained heavily.

Sunday, December 24.—On this day before Christmas we two said Masses, which all heard, and we set out in the morning on the same road by which we came. Because the water had washed away a pass on a steep descent to the beach, which we had repaired on the way up, it was necessary for us to look for a pass in another valley, that was full of brush, so that in order to go through it the men had to go ahead and open the road with machetes. The march covered three leagues, and we halted on the same spot as on the 10th of September, which was in the valley of El Osito de San Buenaventura. It was God's will that we should celebrate the Nativity joyfully, which was done in this way: more than two hundred heathen of both sexes came to visit us in this place, bringing us Christmas gifts, for many of them came with good baskets of pinole and some fish, with which everybody supplied himself, so that we had something with which to celebrate Christmas Day. Blessed be the providence of God, who succors us more than we deserve! Their gifts were returned with beads, which pleased them greatly.

Monday, December 25.—On this day of the Nativity of the Lord we could not celebrate in any other manner than by saying Mass, we two, one Mass for each, for the march gave time for no more. The cold is so biting that it gives us good reason to meditate upon what the Infant Jesus, who was this day born in Bethlehem, suffered for us. We made three leagues and a half, and went to stop a little farther to the south of the estuary of Santa Serafina, close to a small village of Indian fishermen, from whom a great deal of fish was obtained, in exchange for beads, with which all provided themselves. So we celebrated Christmas with this dainty, which tasted better to everybody than capons and chickens had tasted in other places, because of the good sauce of San Bernardo,* hunger which all had in abundance. And there was not lacking a Christmas gift of good baskets of pinole and atole, which, being white and made of acorns, tastes like manjar blanco,† because of its color and the pleasure with which it is eaten.

Tuesday, December 26.—We two celebrated this day of the proto-martyr San Estévan, and after Mass we set out on the road by which we came, traveling four leagues, and stopping at the old camp in the valley of San Adrián, or Los Osos. During the whole march it rained on us and the road was very heavy; the rain continued all the afternoon.

* Saint Bernard was noted for his abstemiousness, and was said to have eaten only enough to keep him from fainting.

† A dish made of the breast of chicken and other ingredients.

Wednesday, December 27.—It dawned clear, and we were able to say Mass, which was heard by all the men, and the departure was then ordered. Just as the pack train was starting a good downpour began which lasted all day and the following night. The commander was of the opinion that this was no time to lose a day's march, on account of the lack of provisions, so we traveled three leagues, getting drenched, until we reached a small arroyo on whose bank we camped, but it did not stop raining all day or night.

Thursday, December 28.—On this day of the Holy Innocents it was impossible to say Mass, which we felt very much, for it is the only feast day up to the present on which we have not said Mass on the whole journey. It is because we are in a muddy place, all wet, and unable to move from one spot. For the same reason it is impossible to make any march, for we must give time for the plain, which is pouring water, to dry.

Friday, December 29.—We set out in the morning, leaving the old road, because of the difficulty there would be in passing over a spur[127] of the mountains which extend to the sea. In order to avoid them we ascended through a valley by a more direct road, in order to come out in the valley of San Ladislao or El Buchón. The only obstacle on this road is an arroyo covered with rushes and having a considerable marsh; but they found a pass through it, and after three leagues' travel we came to the

arroyo or little valley of El Buchón. This chief, named El Buchón for the reason that I gave on the 4th of September, as soon as he learned of our arrival, came to visit us at the camp with a liberal present of pinole, atole, and some very good tamales which seemed to be made of corn. The gift was returned with glass beads, which they greatly esteemed.

Saturday, December 30.—When we were about to start from this place Chief Buchón came again to visit us. Without doubt on the previous visit he had perceived our needy state, for he came with a second present, more copious and abundant than that of yesterday. It was divided among the men, so that we all had this succor. We set out from the valley, taking the road along the beach, by which we cut off a good deal, no other difficulty offering itself but that of an estuary; but the heathen showed us the ford, by which we crossed easily and in this way we avoided the inevitable detours of the road inland, which is a labyrinth of lagoons and estuaries. By the road which we took to-day we arrived in two leagues and a half at this lagoon of the sand dune, or round lake, and there was a present here also from the Indians.

Sunday, December 31.—At daybreak we two said Mass, and then some heathen came to visit us with a present of pinole, atole, and tamales, on which we breakfasted; the gift was returned with glass beads. We then set out on the march by the old road, and in

three leagues on this route we came to the long lake. On our arrival the Indians came from the next village, with their present of pinole, atole, and tamales, which was returned with beads as usual.*

* After leaving Carmel Bay Portolá's December camps were as follows: at Monterey on the 10th; near Blanco on the 11th; near Chualar on the 12th; near Camphora on the 13th; above Metz on the 14th; near King City on the 15th; in Jolón Valley on the 16th; at Nacimiento River on the 17th; near Los Burros Creek on the 18th; in the Hollow at the forks of Campoforo Creek on the 19th; near Arroyo del Oso on the 21st; near San Simeon Bay on the 23d; at Santa Rosa Creek on the 24th; east of Ellysby's Creek, at the north end of Estero Bay on the 25th; at Chorro Creek on the 26th; near the site of San Luís Obispo on the 27th; north of Pismo, in San Luís Canyon, on the 29th; at Oso Flaco Lake on the 30th; at Guadalupe Lake on the 31st.

CHAPTER XVII

JOURNEY MADE BY THE EXPEDITION IN THE MONTH OF JANUARY, 1770, IN THE MARCH BACK TO SAN DIEGO

Monday, January 1.—We made, in the name of God, a beginning to this year of 1770, by both celebrating Mass in this long lake of the holy martyrs, Saint Daniel and his companions, where we were on the first of September, just four months ago to-day. We set out in the morning by the road already known, and after traveling three leagues we came to the Lake of San Ramón, alias La Graciosa, where on the 31st of August there was a dance by the Indian women. To-day the village was not found here; but the Divine Provider did not fail us, and ordered that a bear should appear in the road with three cubs following her. Some of the soldiers thereupon[128] changed to horses that were accustomed to the ferocity of these animals, and they succeeded in killing the mother and one cub, with which there was a great feast. Its meat is not in itself unsavory, and to-day it tasted better than if it had been a fatted calf. For this succor we gave thanks to the Lord, for it gave us a good beginning to the New Year.*

* For the camp sites from January 1 to January 15, see p. 256.

Tuesday, January 2.—From this place we set out in the morning and in passing got a supply of water from the large river of San Bernardo, alias Santa Rosa, in the knowledge that in the Cañada Seca, where we arrived after three leagues' travel, there was none.

Wednesday, January 3.—Early in the morning we had a visit from some heathen of the San Bernardo River, where we did not halt because of the lack of firewood. They brought us our breakfast of atole and pinole made of seeds. May God reward them by opening their intelligence to receive our Holy Faith. They were given some beads, which are the only coin that they value. We set out on the march by the known road, and in two leagues of travel arrived at the town of San Juan Bautista de los Pedernales, from which is seen Point Concepción, the most western point of the channel of Santa Bárbara, eight degrees east of southwest.

Thursday, January 4.—We set out early in the morning, and, following the channel by the road over which we came, we passed by the town of La Espada and continued the march for four and a half leagues, until we came to the town of Santa Teresa. The chief of this village is the one called Cojo, who conducted himself so well that he immediately delivered a fat mule which had been left with him on the 26th of August because it was thin and tired. He and his people presented us with a great deal of fish, fresh and dried, sardines and bonito, so that now there

is abundance, and want is therefore[129] banished. At the same time the country is delightful, for it is covered with beautiful green grass which affords excellent pasture for the animals, which improve every day. The weather, since we left the valley of El Oso, has become very calm, and it is only at night that cold is felt, while the days seem more like spring than winter.

Friday, January 5.—In the morning we set out from this town and traveled two leagues, as far as the town of San Seferino the Pope, where we halted and the Indians gave us enough fresh fish for all the men.

Saturday, January 6.—We celebrated this great day, in which we both said Mass, all the men attending. Then we set out, covering in the morning the two leagues to the town of San Luís Rey, and camped in the same spot as when we came, where we were given many fish.[130]

Sunday, January 7.—We both said Mass in the morning. Afterwards we set out and made the two leagues over bad roads to San Guido, where the present of fish was not lacking.

Monday, January 8.—In the morning we set out and traveled three leagues, halting at the town of San Luís Obispo, where there was plenty of fish.

Tuesday, January 9.—We stopped at the town of La Isla, after traveling two and a half leagues of rather difficult road, through country grown with[131] live oaks and other trees; we passed to the

east of those towns and pitched camp in clear and open land. Here there was no fish; I do not know whether it was because there was none at this season, or whether the Indians had not gone out for it.

Wednesday, January 10.—We set out from the towns of Las Islas, and passed by that of the lake without stopping, arriving late at that of the Carpintería, or San Roque, having traveled five and a half leagues. We stopped in the same spot where we were on the 17th of August, the fish being absent here also.

Thursday, January 11.—We spent this day at the town of Asumpta, the last one on the channel, and passed the village of El Bailarín without stopping. All of these people, who, when we came, had plenty of fish and gave us a lot of it, are now without any, and we perceive that they are hungry, so that if some provision had not been made in the preceding towns, we should have found ourselves in the same situation.

Friday, January 12.—We entered the valley of Santa Clara, which we crossed in a southwesterly direction in order to enter the Sierra de la Conversión, with the object of going to take the valley of Santa Catarina. It looked as though we were going to get over the mountain easily through a pass which faces in the same direction. We crossed San Hipólito River[132] and took a guide from the village which is near its banks, close to the one where we

had camped on the 13th of August. We followed a low range of hills and came out on a plain of considerable extent, which ends on the west side at the sea, and on the east opposite a hill, which we climbed. Afterwards entering a spacious valley, we followed it, veering to the southeast, and stopped near a village of sixty heathen, more or less, and very poor. In this place there is water, firewood, and pasture. The march covered six full leagues.

Saturday, January 13.—In the morning we set out with a guide from the village, who took us by a very practicable pass, through which we crossed over a great part of the range. Afterwards we ascended a hill from which an arroyo precipitates itself. Its source is in a very large spring covered with watercress. After mounting the hill we found ourselves in another very sightly valley, covered with pasturage and live oaks.[133] This valley ends opposite another rugged ridge, at the foot of which there is a small village whose heathen treated us to roasted mescales.[134] Then we climbed the hill and from its top saw another very beautiful plain, in which we found another village of heathen, close to which we halted. There was plenty of water near at hand and firewood and pasture in abundance. The march covered two leagues and a half, and I called this spot El Triunfo del Dulcísimo Nombre de Jesús.

Sunday, January 14.—After we two had said Mass with all the men present, we set out from

El Triunfo del Dulcísimo Nombre de Jesús in the morning of this, His day, and two old heathen of the village offered to serve us as guides through the mountains. They led us southeast to the outlet, which was the most important to us because it was the shortest way out. But after going a little more than half a league we found ourselves penetrating the most rugged and intricate part of the range. We learned, but too late, that the pack train could not pass through those thickets, and we had to return to the village. We then took better guides, who led us by a very different road, to the northeast. The road was by sloping hills, much better than the one over which the first ones took us. The hills passed, we entered level land to the east and traveled two short leagues. We halted close to a village whose heathen urged us to remain and not go on, as the watering place was distant and it would be late when we arrived. We gave them this pleasure, and the village was named El Triunfo del Nombre de Jesús. It is a plain of considerable extent and much beauty, forested in all parts by live oaks and oaks, with much pasture and water.

Monday, January 15.—We set out with a guide from this village and traveled until we came to another small one in about a league and a half. From there we took another guide who led us in a northeasterly direction.[135] A little farther on he turned east. We climbed a long and steep hill, from whose summit we made out the valley of Santa

Catarina. We descended to it, and, traveling to the southeast, arrived, now late, at Los Robles, where we camped on the 7th of August. The march covered six and a half leagues.*

Tuesday, January 16.—From this place, without leaving the valley, we went on to the southeast,[136] and instead of crossing the mountains which encircle it to the east by the same road as the other time, we cut across them by the southeast without losing ground. We were aided by our good fortune in discovering a pass which opened the way for us to the plain of Los Alisos. In this march we made three and a half leagues and camped among some hills at the outlet from the range, somewhat distant from a small arroyo which sinks into the sand near its source.†

Wednesday, January 17.—We set out from the place in the morning, and as soon as we entered the plain we saw a bare chain of mountains covered with snow, which we descried on entering the valley of Santa Clara; from the hills we also saw the Porciúncula River. We crossed the plain in a south-

* The camps from January 1 to January 15 were as follows: San Antonio Creek on January 1; near Surf on January 2; Pedernales Point on January 3; Cañada del Cojo on January 4; Arroyo del Bullito on January 5; Gaviota on January 6; Tajiguas Creek on January 7; Dos Pueblos Creek near Naples on January 8; the lagoon at Mescal Island on January 9; Carpintería on January 10; Ventura on January 11; Santa Clara Valley near Camarillo on January 12; Potrero Valley on January 13; Russell Valley on January 14 (Triunfo Canyon opens into the valley from the south. The guide had misled them into the Santa Monica Mountains); through Calabazas Pass into San Fernando Valley on the 15th (camp was near Encino).

† For camp sites to January 21, see p. 258.

easterly direction, arrived at the river, and forded it, observing on its sands rubbish, fallen trees, and pools on either side, for a few days previously there had been a great flood which had caused it to leave its bed. We traveled three leagues farther, to the valley of San Miguel, and there we halted in the same place where we had camped on the 30th of July.

Thursday, January 18.—We started out[137] in the morning through the gap of the valley of San Miguel, which is very full of trees. We traveled a long while to the southeast on the edge of the stream, which, rising from a copious spring of water in the same gap, merits now the name of river; its plain is covered with willows and some slender cottonwoods. We forded the river and traveled over level land toward the southeast to the river named El Río de Jesús de los Temblores, which we also forded, and which carries more water at present than the Porciúncula. We made in this march six leagues.[138]

Friday, January 19.—We set out from this river in the morning, made four leagues, halted at the springs of San Pantaleón, or Father Gómez, having traveled by the same road as that over which we came.

Saturday, January 20.—We broke camp in the morning and traveled the three leagues to the valley of San Francisco, whose arroyo we found dry, although it had rained so much. Without doubt the water which was so abundant when we came was

from the melting snow, and until that time it would not again have its flow. We went on for the other two leagues to the valley of Santa María Magdalena,[139] alias La Quemada, whose arroyo we found dry, although there is water in the pools. Some of the soldiers are very sick with diarrhoea; this evening two of them became so much worse that it gave us some anxiety.

Sunday, January 21.—After we two had said Mass and the men had heard it, the march was ordered and we left the camp. Arriving at the arroyo of San Apolinar we found it dry and the village deserted, for which reason we could not find out whether or not the two sick children whom we baptized on the way up had died, and it was necessary for us to go on in search of water, which we found in an arroyo in a valley a little more than a league farther on, with sufficient pasture and firewood. The march covered four leagues.*

Monday, January 22.—We passed through the valley of Santa Margarita without stopping, and went in six leagues' travel to the valley of San Juan Capistrano, following a road over sloping hills. We

* On January 16 Portolá left San Fernando Valley by Cahuenga Pass, and camped near its mouth north of Hollywood; on the 17th he camped at the San Gabriel River near Bassett; on the 18th, instead of recrossing Puente Hills through La Habra, he followed the San Gabriel till near Whittier, then struck southeastward to his old camp on the Santa Ana near Olive. From there the northward route was retraced to San Diego, but as the homeward marches were now long, several of the old camps were passed without stopping. On January 21 camp was apparently on San Onofre Creek.

saw in the canyons that terminate in the valley several lagoons which we did not see in July on the way up.

Tuesday, January 23.—We set out in the morning from this place and did not halt until we reached San Jacome de la Marca, making a march of seven leagues and passing Santa Sinforosa, two leagues from San Alejo, and two or three more to San Jacome, which is the camping place.

Wednesday, January 24.—We were now approaching the port of San Diego, and this whole day was passed in conjecturing what state we would find it in, whether settled by the few people whom we left there and the packets in the harbor, or whether it might have been entirely deserted in the six months since we had left it. Each one decided according to his nature and humor; but it is true that we all agreed in the fear that if the rigor of the sickness and the mortality among the people had lasted, not a span of the establishment would be left standing. In addition there was much to be feared from the perverse disposition of the Diegueño Indians, whose avidity in stealing is unequaled, and we were fearful that they might have attempted same offense against the mission and its small guard. Our inability to acquire any news of the barks on the coast, notwithstanding the efforts that were made for this purpose, gave us some reason for fearing that we would find ourselves in San Diego in the same need as that in which we now were.

Occupied by these thoughts and remarks, which had fatigued us for some days, we at last made out the fence of poles and the humble buildings that contained the mission. Immediately all the soldiers discharged their firearms, our first announcement to the inhabitants of the mission, who, in the greatest excitement, came out immediately to welcome us with open arms.

We found our father president and esteemed rector, Fray Junípero Serra, convalescing from the scurvy, in which he had also shared; and in the same manner the father prior Fray Fernando Parrón, also recovering from the same malady; and the father preacher Fray Juan Vizcaíno wounded in one hand by an arrow-shot which he had received in August of last year in an uprising of the Indians which they afterwards related to us at length.

We found also that many of the volunteer soldiers and those from the presidio of Loreto had suffered from the scurvy, and they told us how many deaths there had been. We gave them in substance a report of our journey, reserving a more complete recital until we gave thanks to God and the Most Holy Patriarch San José, patron of the expedition, for our return with life and health after the long journey of six months and ten days, a special benefit which we knew had come from His Divine Majesty through the intercession of San José that no one should die on the journey. As an act of gratitude, on the following day a thanksgiving Mass was said.[140]

CHAPTER XVIII

MEASURES TAKEN BY THE GOVERNOR IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE RETURN TO SAN DIEGO

The governor, after learning the state of the supplies that he found in San Diego, which were those belonging to the mission of San Buenaventura, and had come destined for its founding, decided to remain in that port to await the packets, and then decide whether it were best to make a new effort to seek the port of Monterey, some going by sea and some by land, as it might perhaps then be easy to attain the object; but that if all the supplies should be used up before the arrival of one of the barks, to retreat to California.* He also decided to despatch to the Peninsula Captain Don Fernando Rivera y Moncada with a party of soldiers, to bring the cattle that had been left in Vellicatá, and all the provisions that he could procure, and to carry a report of what had occurred in the journey, with letters and diaries, to his Excellency the Viceroy and the illustrious visitor-general.[141]

The captain prepared for his journey, and the father preacher Fray Juan Vizcaíno, who

* Lower California is meant, of course.

was ill of an arrow wound which he had received in one hand, as I shall relate further on, asked permission from the reverend father president to return to California to seek a cure, and in case he gained no relief to go on to Mexico to put himself under treatment. In view of the fact that the founding of the missions would be delayed, the father president granted him the permission, so that he might take advantage of the good opportunity of going with the captain's party.

They set out from San Diego on the 11th of February, escorted by twenty leather-jacket soldiers, two muleteers, and two of the California Indians, with ten horses, and eighty mules to bring the provisions. Although when they passed over the stretch between San Diego and Vellicatá both divisions of the expedition had experienced very friendly treatment from the heathen, in this journey they were found very much changed, so much so that one village which, on account of the kindness of the heathen toward the expedition, had been called "the village of the good people," on this occasion attempted to prevent their passage, and with this object came out upon them armed and began to discharge so many arrows that they could not be counted. By order of the captain some of the soldiers fired, and two of the heathen fell, which frightened the rest, and they retreated, allowing our men to pass. In the case of the other villages,

although they did not go so far as to take up arms, they made it plain that they did not like to have such travelers going through their country.

They arrived at Vellicatá on the 25th of the same month, having spent fourteen days on the trip, and at once despatched a messenger with the letters to the camp of Loreto.[142] The news of the expedition and of its needy state having been considered, provisions were at once got ready and sent with all possible despatch by sea to the bay of San Luís, the harbor of Santa María, and cowboys and muleteers were sent by land to drive the cattle and serve in the pack train. Although all possible haste was made, because the stretch between Vellicatá and Loreto was in the condition explained in Part One, the captain was not able to leave Vellicatá until the 23d of May, when he set out with the same number of leather-jacket soldiers, three cowboys, and muleteers to manage a greater number of mules, for they sent him from San Diego all that they could get together, loading them all with provisions for the relief of the expedition. They also took from Vellicatá one hundred and sixty-four head of cattle, one hundred and twenty-three of them full-grown, most of them cows, and forty-one young cattle, male and female. Although in one of the villages it cost the death of some heathen who wished to stop their passage, all this stock arrived at the port of San Diego in the month of

July, just when the people had been relieved of their necessities by the packet *San Antonio,* alias *El Príncipe,* and were rejoicing over having hit upon the harbor of Monterey, as I shall relate further on.[143]

Mission San Diego.

From a nineteenth century painting.

CHAPTER XIX

IN WHICH AN ACCOUNT IS GIVEN OF THE FOUNDING OF THE MISSION OF SAN DIEGO DE ALCALÁ AT THAT PORT AND OF WHAT HAPPENED AT THE BEGINNING OF IT

I have already told in a previous chapter of this second part how the visitor-general directed that a mission should be founded at the harbor of San Diego and dedicated to San Diego de Alcalá, in view of the fact that in the year 1602[144] the captain commandant Don Sebastián Vizcaíno had dedicated the port to him. Although both the land and sea expeditions had been at the harbor since the first of July, no beginning had been made of the founding because some were preparing for the journey to the harbor of Monterey, and those who were sick were being attended by both. Consequently, they lay cast on the shore of the harbor from the day of their arrival until the expedition left, in which short time, among sailors and soldiers, twenty-nine of the Free Company of Catalonia died and were buried on the shore.

As I said in chapter nine, of the twenty-five volunteer soldiers who had started from California there were left only seven able to go with the expedition, and, when it started, all the rest of the seamen[145] and volunteer soldiers were left sick in San Diego. There also remained eight Christian California Indians, a blacksmith, a carpenter, and a servant boy, as well as the surgeon to take care of the sick. On the packet *San Carlos* there were the captain commander, the pilot, five sailors, and two cabin boys. As guard for these people there were left only eight leather-jacket soldiers, one with the rank of corporal. Two of these remained constantly on board the packet, as not even this was safe, for the heathen of the village near the harbor are so inclined to theft that they approached very close to the bark in their little tule canoes and made several attempts to steal what they could lay hands on.

In addition to this, in order that the few left on the bark might not lack the Mass on feast days, the reverend father president arranged that on the eve of every festival one of the three fathers left in San Diego should go aboard to say Mass for them on the following day. For this purpose two more soldiers were necessary to escort the father from the mission to the beach, which was a good league, this leaving in the mission only four soldiers. Two of these were employed in guarding the animals, and the

other two in the mission. Considering the character of the Diegueño Indians, and the ill humor which they exhibited towards the new neighbors whom they had in their country against their will, and their innate tendency to theft, even though there had been twenty soldiers they would not have been too many. The reverend father president rightly considered that a larger escort was necessary, but it was not obtainable from the commander.

With only this small number of men, the sick as well as the strong being in a state of discomfort, the father president found himself charged with founding a mission on that harbor. Therefore, moved by his apostolic zeal, he set his hand to the project. The beginning was made two days after the departure of the expedition, that is,[146] on the 16th of July, 1769, the day on which we Spaniards celebrate the triumph of the Holy Cross, hoping, no doubt, that just as by the aid of the Holy Cross the Spaniards won on that same day in the year 1212 that famous victory over the barbarous Mohammedans, they would now, by raising the standard of the Holy Cross, succeed in putting to flight the whole infernal army, in order to subject to the gentle yoke of our Holy Faith the barbarity of the heathen Diegueños;* especially since they had for intercessor the great queen and empress, Nuestra Señora del Carmen, whose day they celebrated

* Natives of San Diego.

with this faith and zeal for the salvation of souls. So he raised the standard of the Holy Cross, fixing it on the spot that seemed to him most suitable for building the town in the vicinity of the harbor.

With the few men available, in the intervals when it was not necessary for them to be taking care of the sick, some humble huts or sheds were built, one of them destined to serve as a chapel. They endeavored to attract the heathen who allowed themselves to be seen, with gifts and endearments; but, as they did not understand the language, they paid no attention to anything except to take what was given them and to steal whatever they could, greatly disturbing the poor sick men who were lying under the brush shelters. Among all the many who came attracted by the novelty, only one boy was inclined to the mission. As he was in the habit of staying about there, the fathers, hoping to baptize him as a beginning of the conversion, endeavored to entertain him as well as they could, as did also the soldiers, so that, by settling down in the mission, he might learn the language and serve afterward as an interpreter for the rest. This, thanks to God, was accomplished in due time, and he is to-day interpreter for the mission.

All the others manifested great dissatisfaction and ill-will toward our people, and never came near except to make an attempt to steal

whatever they could, and to watch what our people were doing. They did not show the slightest fear, and made game of our men; if they saw a gun go off, with impudent jeers they imitated the noise they heard, the poor wretches being ignorant of its destructive effects. Every day they became more insolent, encouraged by the patience of our men, and nearly every day they gave some reason for chastising them, but our people endeavored to endure and dissimulate patiently and prudently.

On the 15th of August, great feast of the ascent of Nuestra Señora to heaven, the attack which they had been confabulating for days broke out. They waited until there should be fewer soldiers, when two had gone to the bark to accompany Father Fray Fernando Parrón, who had gone aboard to say Mass, and when the other soldiers had gone with the horse-herd, so that only two of the guard remained for the defense. Seeing this, all the heathen, armed with their bows and good quivers of arrows, went to the mission. The two soldiers who were with the horse-herd saw them and ran back at once. They found the heathen taking all the clothing from the poor sick men, even to the sheets with which they were covered, although they were of no use to the Indians for anything.

Our soldiers reproved them, and they immediately put hand to bow and began to shoot

arrows. The four soldiers, arming themselves with their leather jackets, began to fire, three of the heathen falling dead and others escaping wounded. The reverend father president retired into his hut with Father Fray Juan Vizcaíno, commending the dead[147] to God and praying that the heathen might be placated. Father Vizcaíno attempted to close the door of the hut, which consisted of an Esmiquilpa blanket, and as he was taking away his hand an arrow struck it, making a wound. At the same time the serving boy ran into the hut, his throat pierced by an arrow. He threw himself at the feet of the reverend father president and asked to be confessed, and as soon as he was given absolution he expired. The blacksmith was also wounded in one leg. The Indians, seeing their dead and wounded, took flight, thoroughly frightened and made acquainted with the valor of our men and the great power[148] of our arms.

On account of the foregoing events the Indians abandoned the village and for many days did not permit themselves to be seen. Burial was given to our one dead, and it may be piously believed that he was fortunate, and that God took him to his eternal glory to reward him. The charitable surgeon, Don Pedro Prat, immediately gave medical attention to the father who was wounded and to the blacksmith. The heathen burned their dead, as is their custom, and the

weeping made by the women in the village, which was heard from the mission, lasted for many days. In a few days they showed themselves, but without arms now and very silent. They brought their wounded to be cured, and the surgeon set them an example by his extreme charity until he restored them to health.

Because of what had happened our men attempted to make a stockade of trees for defense, and endeavored to prevent any heathen from approaching armed within a gunshot of the stockade, by which means a new disturbance was avoided. But it was not possible to subdue them or to induce any of them to settle in the mission save the boy who I said was in the habit of frequenting it, although he too also often absented himself for long periods.

The sick men continued to suffer from the scurvy, although the celebrated surgeon endeavored to use all possible means to relieve them; though he cured many, the medicine failed to save nineteen, who died during the period from the founding of the mission to the return of the expedition. They were eight volunteer soldiers, four sailors, one servant, and six Christian California Indians.

Such was the state of the mission on the 24th of January, 1770, the day when the expedition returned from San Francisco. It had not reduced or baptized a single heathen, for, although the

fathers did everything possible to convert them[149] and had induced the parents of a little girl to give their consent that she be baptized and to be present at the ceremony of baptism in the chapel, when the reverend father president was about to pour the holy water on her the heathen snatched her away and ran off with her, leaving the father chagrined. The mission was also without any buildings except some poor huts made of tule inside the stockade. But the father president was confident that on the arrival of the expedition something would be done, at least in regard to the material affairs of the mission, as there would be so many men. In this confidence he spoke to the governor about the matter, but the latter excused himself, partly he said because the men were tired from the journey, but also and principally because he did not know whether the mission would be permanent, for he had resolved that if on the day of San José, the 19th of March, a bark did not arrive with help, the expedition would return to California, for there were not enough provisions to wait longer, and the men had not come to perish of hunger.

Hearing this, the reverend father president said no more on the matter to that gentleman. Accordingly, nothing more was built in his time than a fence of poles to serve as a corral to shut up the animals. But as to abandoning the port the reverend father president was of a different

opinion, for he desired to remain to see it through. With this intention he went to speak to Don Vicente Vila, commander of the sea expedition, who, not coming ashore in all this time, had remained on board the packet *San Carlos* with the few sailors and the two leather-jacket soldiers who were guarding it. The father repeated the governor's decision to him. On hearing it Don Vicente said he was not of the same opinion, but preferred to wait for the help that would surely come, and as soon as it came to go to Monterey, for he was convinced that the land expedition had been in that harbor without knowing it. The reverend father president approved this plan, and the two came to an agreement to remain even though the land expedition should leave; that the two missionary fathers should go with it, but that his Reverence should remain, with Father Fray Juan Crespi, on board the *San Carlos* until the end of the undertaking should be seen.

The time was now drawing near, for it was the middle of March, and the provisions were getting low, only as much remaining as was judged necessary to take them to Vellicatá, for which reason nothing was talked of in San Diego but the retreat and the abandonment of the mission and harbor. There is no doubt that this would have occurred if God had not ordered that on the very day of San José, to whose patronage

the event was attributed, as he is the patron of the expeditions and the new reductions, a sail should appear, which turned out to be the *San Antonio,* alias *El Príncipe,* although it did not enter the harbor until the 24th of the same month of March, as I shall say in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XX

ARRIVAL OF THE PACKET *EL PRÍNCIPE* AT THE PORT OF SAN DIEGO, AND THE DECISION RESULTING FROM THIS NEW RELIEF

It has already been said in chapter nine that the packet *San Antonio,* alias *El Príncipe,* sailed on July 9, 1769, from the port of San Diego, for the purpose of going to bring provisions and a crew for the *San Carlos.*[150] After twenty days' sailing it arrived and dropped anchor at San Blas, without touching anywhere, having had the misfortune to lose nine men by death on the voyage. As soon as the news of its arrival and the state of the expedition reached his Excellency and the illustrious visitor-general, they took prompt and vigorous means to load it, provide it with everything, and send it off without loss of time, with orders to sail directly to the harbor of Monterey, in search of the expedition that was going by land. Orders were also given that the same thing should be done with the packet *San José,* loading it with provisions and a duplicate crew for the *San Carlos,* and that the *San José* should go straight to San Diego, although both were to touch at Cape San Lucas to take on between them the cargo that was there.

The two barks set sail from San Blas.[151] The *Príncipe,* getting ahead, first reached Cape San Lucas, took on its half of the cargo that was there, and continued its voyage to Monterey. The *San José* also arrived, although much later, at Cape San Lucas, and, after taking the rest of the cargo, sailed for San Diego; but at the end of the month it returned to the same Cape to take on water again, and sailed once more in the month of May, 1770.[152] Nothing more has ever been heard of it, and it is believed to have been lost at sea.[153]

The *San Antonio,* alias *El Príncipe,* continued its voyage for Monterey as far as Point Concepción on the channel of Santa Bárbara, where it learned from the heathen of the towns of that channel, by clear and unmistakable signs, that the land expedition had retreated and returned to San Diego. On this account, and because he had accidentally lost an anchor in that channel, Don Juan Pérez, the captain of the packet, decided to retrace the voyage to the port of San Diego. He was in sight of it on the 19th of March in the afternoon, when they descried it from that mission, and in consequence postponed the retreat of the land expedition to California.

The weather did not give the *San Antonio* an opportunity to enter the harbor at once. On the contrary, those on shore lost sight of it, suspect-

ing now that it might have gone up to Monterey, for which reason the retreat was again spoken of, though with indifference. But the most holy patriarch San José was pleased to give them the consolation of seeing it enter the port most successfully in the afternoon of the 24th of March, well loaded with provisions, to the joy of everybody, who gave a thousand thanks to God and to the most holy patriarch, to whose sovereign patronage they knew they owed this succor. From every point of view, all perceived now that it was an obligation of gratitude to God not to abandon the undertaking which they knew had been begun by Divine Providence.

After the commander had learned the contents of the letters from his Excellency and his Lordship, and of the cargo, he decided that a return should be made to the bay of the Point of Pines, some going by land and the packet *San Antonio* by sea, so that an exploration might again be made by sea and land to look for the harbor of Monterey. He ordered also that from the cargo brought by the *San Antonio* twenty-five bushels of corn and other little things in the way of provisions should be left for those who would have to remain at San Diego, until relief should reach them by the *San José,* and for the maintenance of Commander Don Vicente Vila, on the *San Carlos,* with his pilot and five sailors who were left him, until such time as the new

provisions and a crew should reach him by the *San José,* so that after its arrival the latter might go up to Monterey. At the same time he ordered that provisions should be taken out for the expedition that was to go anew by land to the Bay of Pines, estimating what was necessary for three months, and that all the rest should be taken to Monterey by the packet *El Príncipe.*

The governor decided to go by land, with Lieutenant Don Pedro Fages, and twelve soldiers from his Free Catalonian Company, the only ones left alive out of the twenty-five who had come (thirteen having died at San Diego), seven leather-jacket soldiers, five of the Christian Indians who had come from California, and two muleteers. One of the latter was he who had deserted on the first journey in the Santa Lucía Mountains. He appeared at San Diego on the 28th of February, alone and naked, with no other clothing than a breech-clout and his gun on his shoulder, giving the same excuses as his companion, which I have already related. Being asked about the three California Indians who also deserted, he replied that he had learned from the heathen that they remained in the villages of the same mountains. He said that on the whole road he had experienced no trouble in passing through all those villages. On the contrary, they fed him, and he stripped himself of his little clothing to repay them. The commander

decided also that the Engineer Don Miguel Constanzó, and the surgeon, Don Pedro Prat, should go with the packet.

He decided that the sergeant of the Leather-jacket Company, Don José Francisco de Ortega, should remain at the mission of San Diego, with eight leather-jacket soldiers, the only ones left, because twenty had gone with the captain; there were to remain also a muleteer and twelve of the neophyte Indians from California. In view of this decision, the father president ordered on his part that Fathers Fray Fernando Parrón and Fray Francisco Gómez should remain at the mission of San Diego; that Father Fray Juan Crespi should go by land with the governor and the rest of the expedition. His Reverence himself decided to go on the *Príncipe*.

Everybody got ready for the departure. Before going the governor wished to send a report to his Excellency of what had been determined upon, but he found himself without soldiers for this purpose, so he risked the letters with two California Indians of the eleven who were designated for San Diego, directing them to travel by night, and by day to remain concealed and resting, to avoid in this way danger from the heathen.[154] They did so, leaving San Diego on the 16th of April and arriving at Vellicatá on the 25th of the same month, without having had the least accident. From there they

despatched the letters to me. I received them at Loreto on the 28th of May and sent them immediately by launches to Santa Cruz, so that they might come as soon as possible to the hands of his Excellency. Together with them I received a letter from the reverend father president in which he gave me an account of everything, saying that he was already on board for the voyage.

CHAPTER XXI

THE EXPEDITION SETS OUT A SECOND TIME FROM SAN DIEGO IN SEARCH OF THE PORT OF MONTEREY

Everything being ready for the second voyage, the packet *San Antonio* sailed from the port of San Diego, departing on the 16th of April, 1770, the second day of the Feast of the Resurrection. In it went the reverend father president, the engineer, and the surgeon. In the afternoon of the following day, the 17th, Don Gaspar de Portolá, governor and commander, set forth with those who were to go by land.[155] They followed the same road as they had taken on the return, which they had straightened up somewhat, and were well received in all the heathen villages, with even greater demonstrations than in the first journey.

On their arrival at La Hoya, in the Sierra de Santa Lucía, in a valley called Los Robles on account of the great abundance of those trees with which it is covered, in one of the heathen villages they recovered two of the California Indian deserters, who ran away in the first journey to explore the Sierra de Santa Lucía,

as I have already said in the proper place. Being asked for their companion they said he had died a natural death in a village, that they had attended him at his death, helping him to die properly, and then had buried him; that the heathen behaved well[156] towards them and gave them food, but kept them in the village, not giving them any chance to go out into the woods, or to mix with the married people, but keeping them apart, in the house of the unmarried men. The same heathen who had taken care of them accompanied them to the camp and delivered them to the commander, who thanked them for the charity they had shown toward those poor creatures, and presented them with some beads, for which they were very grateful.

The expedition continued on its way, and after thirty-eight days on the road, two for rest and the others for travel, they arrived on the day of the Ascension of the Lord, the 24th of May, at the great bay of the Point of Pines, on the northeast side. They stopped about half a league before reaching the exact Point of the Pines,[157] where the second cross had been set up and fixed, as I said in its place, with the inscription saying that the expedition was returning to San Diego for want of provisions. This place was not reached by the entire expedition on the first journey, but only by the captain, with the soldier explorers, the engineer Don Miguel Constanzó,

who made his observations there, demarking Point Año Nuevo and examining well the point and the entire shore, and Sergeant Ortega, with his soldiers, who went to plant the holy cross. They all stated when they returned to camp that they had gone to the very end of the Point of Pines and had examined the shore with much care, but had not found any sign of a harbor, for which reason they had not remained in that place and bay, but on the second bay, to the south of the Point of Pines.

While the pack train was unloading in the place designated by the commander for pitching the camp, that gentleman wished to go on to see the holy cross and to see if there were any sign that the bark had touched the coast. He was accompanied by the missionary father Fray Juan Crespi and the lieutenant of volunteers, with a leather-jacket soldier to guard them, who had been with Sergeant Ortega when he set up the cross. When they reached it, and after they had venerated it, they noticed that it was entirely surrounded by arrows and darts with feathers fixed in the ground. One of the darts had a string of sardines that were still tolerably fresh, another one had a piece of meat, and at the foot of the cross there was a pile of mussels. At this sight their hearts were moved, believing that in some way the heathen were offering worship to the sacred wood, even though without light or

understanding of what it represented. From this act, even though material, hope could be drawn for the Religion that by illuminating their understandings with the light of evangelical preaching, they would not refuse to receive into their hearts and minds this sign of their redemption.

After seeing this, the three men and the father missionary returned to the bay and its beach to see if there was any sign that a ship had arrived there, and as the day was clear they saw the great bay which is formed by the Point of Pines and the other point, which projects much farther into the sea, and which was still thought to be Point Año Nuevo. They observed that the sea in the whole immense bay was so calm that it resembled a large lake. In it were swimming and barking innumerable sea wolves, and near the shore there were two large whale cubs, not farther than five yards from the land, a clear indication that there was a good depth. They traveled a short distance along the same beach and soon perceived that the bay was locked by points Año Nuevo and Pinos, in such a manner that the great bay resembled a round lake like an O. Upon seeing this the three broke out with one voice: "This is the port of Monterey that we were seeking, for this is the letter described by Sebastián Vizcaíno and Cabrera Bueno." The father immediately took out the

needle, in order to observe the direction of the mouth, to be more certain, and he found that it is open to the north-northwest,[158] and in that direction the mouth and entrance is open to that great bay, in which they believed, without doubt, was the harbor of Monterey. But in order to make sure they waited for the arrival of the bark, to relieve them of any doubt that might still exist.

The commander, in view of the fact that on the first trip they had not found any good water at that place, but only four lagoons of bad salt water, from only one of which they were able to drink and then only of necessity, decided to change the camp to the other little bay, to the south of the Point of Pines on an arroyo a short distance from Carmelo River, where there was good pasture and water, and where they had been in December when the expedition of the Sierra de Santa Lucía was made, in order to await there the arrival of the bark. To this place the pack train traveled over sloping hills by a direct road, going about a league and a half from the beach of Monterey. The commander, with the father missionary and Lieutenant Don Pedro Fages, wished to go by the beach around the Point of Pines.[159] They found it well covered with these trees, many of them large, which can serve as masts for ships. They also found a grove of cypresses on a point which is on the little bay to

the south of the Point of Pines. After traveling four good leagues* they arrived at the camping place, on the bank of the arroyo mentioned above, near the cross which they had set up on the 10th of December, but they did not find at this one any tokens like those found at the other. They remained at this place until the arrival of the *San Antonio,* alias *El Príncipe.*

* This journey was made over what is now Seventeen Mile Drive.

CHAPTER XXII

EL PRÍNCIPE ARRIVES AT THE HARBOR OF MONTEREY

El Príncipe sailed from San Diego, as I said in the preceding chapter, on the 16th of April, but as soon as it left that port it met winds contrary to the direction that it was to take; indeed, instead of going ahead it was driven back, so much so that it went as far down as thirty degrees, in the parallel of the mission of San Borja in California, though out to sea. Afterwards it gained altitude little by little and went as far up as the harbor of San Francisco and the Gulf of the Farallones, which they made out and saw quite close.[160] The reason that they did not examine that harbor then was that the captain had no orders to do so, and also, and principally, because the wind changed, becoming very favorable for making the harbor of Monterey, their destination, so the boat put about at once, and on the same day entered the harbor of San Carlos de Monterey.

In the afternoon of the 31st of May, the eighth day of the Ascension, and exactly a week after the arrival of the land expedition, the latter observed the bark close to the Point

of Pines. The governor and land commander immediately ordered three fires lighted, the signal that had been agreed upon to let them know that the land expedition had arrived. As soon as the fires were seen from the bark they gave their signal by firing the cannon, to make it known that they had seen it; and, following the descriptions and directions given in the itinerary of the pilot Cabrera, it proceeded to enter, with a launch in front to make soundings. Without the slightest departure from the descriptions given in the History the packet went in about two hundred varas beyond the Point of Pines and dropped anchor in six fathoms, as the History directs.

On the following day, the first of June, early in the morning the commander, in company with Father Fray Juan Crespi and Lieutenant Pedro Fages, went to the harbor, and embraces and congratulations were exchanged for having found the harbor so ardently desired, their joy being expressed by many salvos both on sea and land. It is not easy to express the delight that all felt on seeing themselves now in the desired harbor of Monterey, and so I leave it to the imagination of him who may read of the hardships, hunger, privations, and the rest that may be inferred from such a long journey as is described in the diary, especially since that long expedition had been made twice.

All were now certain that they were in the desired harbor of Monterey. There was not the slightest doubt that it was the one of which the itinerary of pilot Cabrera Bueno treats, and the famous one discovered in the year 1603 by the expedition of Don Sebastián Vizcaíno, who, in honor of his Excellency the Viceroy,[161] Count of Monterey, who had sent him, gave it the name of his estates; and the same port which our monarch, Don Carlos III, ordered settled. So a day was fixed to take formal possession, the day named for it being the third of the same month of June, the Sunday of the Feast of Espíritu Santo. The commander at once gave orders to move the camp from the arroyo near Carmelo River to the now discovered harbor of Monterey. They then examined the shore more carefully, and saw, quite near, the ravine of the little pools, the live oaks, especially the large one, whose branches bathe in the waters of the sea at high tide, under which Mass was said in the year 1603, when the expedition under Don Sebastián Vizcaíno landed there. The only thing missed was the large number of heathen found there then, but it was thought that either the many villages that were there at that time had died out, or that they had moved to other parts, as they easily do, and as was seen in these journeys by this expedition.

CHAPTER XXIII

FORMAL POSSESSION IS TAKEN IN THE NAME OF HIS MAJESTY OF THE PORT OF MONTEREY

On the 3d of June, 1770, Sunday of Pentecost, first day of the Feast of Espíritu Santo, the commander, Don Gaspar de Portolá, together with his subaltern officers, soldiers, and the rest of the land expedition, and Don Juan Pérez, captain of the packet *San Antonio,* alias *El Príncipe,* with his second captain, Don Manuel del Pino, with all their crew and the others who composed the sea expedition, and the reverend father lecturer and president of all the missions, Fray Junípero Serra, and Father Fray Juan Crespi, being assembled all together on the beach of the harbor of Monterey, an arbor was built on the same spot and near the oak where in the year 1603 the holy sacrifice of the Mass had been celebrated by the reverend Carmelite fathers who went on the expedition of the commandant Don Sebastián Vizcaíno. An altar was arranged, and the bells were hung up, whereupon the festival began with the peal of bells.[162]

Then the reverend father president, dressed in alb and stole, with all the people kneeling, implored the assistance of the Holy Spirit, whose coming with the small flock of the apostles and disciples of the Lord was being celebrated that very day by the Universal Church, and they sang with all possible solemnity the hymn of the day, *Veni Creator Spiritus.* Afterwards he blessed some water and with it sprinkled a large cross which they had ready, and among them they all raised it, planted it, and venerated it. He then sprinkled all the fields and beach of the harbor with holy water, to frighten away the infernal enemies. Then began the chanted Mass. The altar was adorned by the devout image of Our Lady, given by the hand of the visitor-general for the expedition to Monterey in the name of the illustrious Don Francisco de Lorenzana, then archbishop of Mexico and now of Toledo, and primate of the Spains. This first Mass was sung by the father president, and he afterwards preached the gospel from that altar, the place of musical instruments being taken or supplied by repeated salvos from the cannon on the packet, and the guns and other firearms. The Mass concluded, the salute to the devout image of Our Lady was sung, and the ceremony ended with the *Te Deum Laudamus.*

The first function of the church over, the commander went to take formal possession of

the land in the name of our king, Don Carlos III (whom God save), raising again the royal standards, which they unfolded after the erection of the holy cross, adding the usual ceremonies of pulling up grass, throwing stones, and performing all the acts of possession. From this day Divine worship began, and the famous port of Monterey came under the dominion and lordship of our king. Afterwards all the gentlemen, together with the fathers, dined on the shore of the harbor, and all the men of the sea and land expeditions did the same, all the ceremonies being celebrated by repeated salvos of artillery and guns.

The commander, as soon as the ceremony was finished, decided to send a messenger to San Diego and California with letters for his Excellency the Viceroy and the illustrious visitor-general, to give them the joyful news of the discovery of the desired port, and, once relieved of this, to proceed to make a beginning of the presidio and mission; indeed the messenger did not set out until after the celebration of the Feast of Corpus Christi in the church of the new mission of San Carlos de Monterey itself.

Immediately after the Feast of Pentecost, hand was put to building a stockade, and inside of it some humble habitations for the royal presidio and mission. For a site a level place was chosen on the shore of an estuary which, in the

rainy season, fills up and communicates with the sea, a little more than a gunshot from the beach and in sight of the harbor, from which it is distant only three gunshots. This plain is on the slope of the Point of Pines, with which trees the plain is also covered. Engineer Don Miguel Constanzó made his measurements on it and drew the plan of the presidio, and at one side of it the mission, all the people moving to it. With this act a beginning was made of the royal presidio and mission.[168]

CHAPTER XXIV

THE FOUNDING OF MISSION SAN CARLOS DE MONTEREY AND THE FIRST CHURCH FUNCTIONS THAT WERE HELD IN IT

On the same day, the 3d of June, Sunday of Pentecost, 1770, on which the governor and commander, Don Gaspar de Portolá, took possession of the port of Monterey in the name of our king (whom God save), and made a beginning of the new presidio of San Carlos, the reverend father president of all the missions, Fray Junípero Serra, on his part, in the name of the king and of the reverend father guardian and the venerable Discretory of my Apostolic College *de propaganda fide* of San Fernando de Mexico, began the new mission, under the title of San Carlos, naming as patron of the new church the most holy patriarch San José; as he had been charged by the illustrious visitor-general that two patrons should be assigned to it, one for the mission who must be San Carlos Borromeo and the other for the church, the most holy patriarch San José,[164] and as our ecclesiastical chief he took possession of it in the name of the college mentioned, appointing as his co-minister the

father preacher Fray Juan Crespi, his pupil in philosophy, which he taught him in the royal monastery of Our Seraphic Father San Francisco in the city of Palma in the holy province of Mallorca.

The first function of the church celebrated at this new mission was that which I described in the preceding chapter. An arbor of branches served as the first church and its table as an altar. They continued to celebrate Mass in this place until a room was finished to serve as chapel. On the same day that the mission was founded and possession taken, as soon as the holy cross was raised, as I said, and before chanting the Mass, he gave burial to the calker of the packet, who had died the day before on the bark mentioned, having previously received the holy sacraments of penance and extreme unction. He was buried close to the holy cross.

As soon as the room that was to serve temporarily as a church was finished at the royal presidio, and after the holy ceremony of benediction, the solemn function of Corpus Christi was performed in it on its proper day, the 14th of June, with the most holy patent in the chanted Mass. They made the solemn procession with the Sacred Host around the square that was already marked out and begun for the camp, accompanied by peals of bells and repeated volleys from the cannon on the packet and from the

muskets and guns of the soldiers. This function was the cause of great joy and extraordinary pleasure to every one, as may be believed by every Roman Catholic Christian.

These ceremonies were not yet attended by the heathen, nor did they permit themselves to be seen at first. But afterwards little by little they lost their fear and began to frequent the mission, although no baptism was performed until the 26th of December. On this day the first baptism, that of a boy five years of age, called Bernardino de Jesús, took place. But since then they have gradually yielded themselves and the mission has been formed, as I shall say in Part Three.

Mission San Carlos Borromeo.

From a nineteenth century painting.

CHAPTER XXV

A MESSENGER IS SENT TO CALIFORNIA WITH THE LETTERS FOR HIS EXCELLENCY AND THE VISITOR-GENERAL

In order to send the letters safely, that they might not be lost, and not endanger the one who was to take them, one can imagine how many soldiers were necessary, considering the large numbers of heathen to be met on the road. But the new presidio was short of men, the number being reduced to twelve of the Catalonian volunteers, and seven of the Leather-jacket Company from California. In view of this scarcity of men, it was decided to send only one leather-jacket soldier accompanied by a young sailor, both of whom volunteered.

They set out from Monterey on the 14th of June in the afternoon, and arrived without accident at San Diego, where they found the same lack of soldiers, and had to go on alone. However, on the first day's march from San Diego they met Captain Don Fernando, who, with twenty soldiers, was bringing the cattle and provisions, and he spared them five soldiers to accompany them, on account of the experience he had had among the heathen, for even with all

the soldiers that he had they had dared to attack him. With this reënforcement they were able to go on in greater safety, and they arrived in California at the mission of Todos Santos, where Governor Don Matías de Armona was at that time. Here we both received the letters with the joyful news, on the 2d of August, in the afternoon, and on the following day I sang the thanksgiving Mass. The same thing had been done at the mission and camp of Loreto,* and was done later at the camp of Santa Ana, with great salvos by the soldiers. The governor got a launch ready so that the messenger might go with the letters, although the commander, Don Gaspar de Portolá, reached Mexico before the courier, as I shall say in the next chapter.

Señor Portolá had orders, as soon as he should take possession of the land and the harbor of Monterey, to turn over the command to Don Pedro Fages, lieutenant of the Free Company of Catalonian Volunteers, and to go with the first bark that should sail from San Blas to Mexico, to give an account of his mission and the state in which the new establishments, Monterey as well as the rest, were left. In fulfillment of these orders he decided to depart in the same packet, the *San Antonio*. Accordingly, leaving the new presidio in charge of Don Pedro Fages, he embarked on the 7th of July, as I shall now relate.

* That is, as the couriers went south to Todos Santos.

CHAPTER XXVI

COMMANDER PORTOLÁ STARTS FOR SAN BLAS; THE NEWS OF THE CONQUEST OF MONTEREY REACHES HIS EXCELLENCY; MEASURES TAKEN IN CONSEQUENCE OF IT

The visitor-general had ordered that one of the barks should always remain in the port to serve in case of any uprising among the heathen. But, not having the slightest fear of those of Monterey because of their docility, and considering that if the bark *San José* had not yet arrived with the provisions at San Diego they would soon be in the same needy condition as before, and that, even though it had already arrived at San Diego it was best for *El Príncipe* to go on, in order to take advantage of the season, so as to be able to return with new succor for both presidios, the commander decided, with the consent of the captain of the packet, to sail for San Blas.[165]

In accordance with this determination, the bark set sail on the 9th of July, leaving the presidio and mission of San Carlos now begun. The commander, Don Gaspar de Portolá, and the engineer, Don Miguel Constanzó, embarked in it, all the rest remaining in the new presidio

and mission. It had been agreed with the sea commander, who was on board the flagship, the *San Carlos,* anchored in the port of San Diego, that it would stop at that port in passing, for the purpose of dividing the crew between the two barks in case the *San José* had not appeared, so that they might go on in convoy to San Blas, rather than that the flagship should be ruined in the port of San Diego from the fog and the long delay. But the wind gave no opportunity to *El Príncipe* to enter San Diego, so it went directly to San Blas, where it arrived in perfect safety on the first of August. Immediately upon his arrival Señor Portolá sent a courier to hasten the joyful news to his Excellency, in case the messenger who went by land had suffered some delay.[166]

The delightful news of the occupation of the port of Monterey reached his Excellency on the first day of August, 1770, and he wished immediately to proclaim to the whole city the joy that this report had caused him. With this object he ordered a general ringing of bells at the cathedral and all the other churches in the capital of Mexico, proclaiming with this glad peal the joy that he felt in his heart, on account of the importance of that port to the crown of our king,[167] and as an act of thanksgiving for the happy outcome of the expeditions, and the extension by them of the dominions of our sovereign with more

than three hundred leagues of good lands well populated with heathen, who little by little would be reduced to our Holy Catholic Faith. As a Catholic, he ordered that a solemn Mass of thanksgiving should be sung in the cathedral, which he himself attended, accompanied by all the tribunals. And in order that all the inhabitants of the whole of New Spain might be participants in these good tidings, he ordered printed and distributed the following relation, of which I insert a literal copy here.

Summary of the News from the Port of Monterey in Regard to the Mission and Presidio which have been Established there under the Name of San Carlos, and the Outcome of the two Expeditions by Sea and Land which were Despatched for this Purpose last Year, 1769[168]

After the repeated and costly expeditions made by the crown of Spain during the two preceding centuries for the exploration of the western coast of the Californias, on the South Sea, and for the occupation of the important harbor of Monterey, this undertaking has finally been brought to a successful conclusion by the two expeditions by sea and land, which, in consequence of royal order and by disposition of this superior government, were despatched from Cape San Lucas and the presidio of Loreto in the months of January, February, and March of last year.

In June of that year the two expeditions met at the harbor of San Diego, situated in thirty-two and a half degrees north latitude. Decision having been made that the packet *San Antonio* should return to the port of San Blas to reënforce its crew and take on a new supply of provisions, the flagship, named the *San Carlos,* remained anchored in the port of San Diego, for lack of the sailors who had died of scurvy. The mission and its escort having been established there, the land expedition continued its journey through the interior of the country as far as thirty-seven degrees and forty-five minutes latitude, in search of Monterey; but, not finding it by the descriptions of the old voyages and itineraries, and fearing a scarcity of provisions, it returned to San Diego, where, in consequence of the fortunate arrival of the packet *San Antonio* in March of this year, the commanders by land and sea took the opportune resolution to renew the undertaking, in conformity with the instructions which they carried for the purpose.

In fact, the two expeditions set out from San Diego on the 16th and 17th of April of the present year. On this second journey the land expedition had the great good fortune to find the harbor of Monterey, which they reached on the 24th of May, and the one by sea arrived there on the 31st of the same month.

That harbor having been thus occupied by sea and land, to the special satisfaction of the innumer-

able heathen Indians who inhabit all the country explored and examined in the two journeys, the possession was solemnized on the 3d of June with an authentic instrument drawn up by the commander-in-chief, Don Gaspar de Portolá, and certified by the other officers of the two expeditions, all testifying that this was the same port of Monterey, with the identical marks described in the old narratives of General Don Sebastián Vizcaíno, and in the sailing directions of Don José Cabrera Bueno, chief pilot of the Philippine ships.

On the 14th of the same month of June last, the commander, Don Gaspar de Portolá, despatched a courier by land to the presidio of Loreto with the welcome news of the occupation of Monterey, and of the establishment of the mission and presidio of San Carlos there. On account of the great distance, this superior government has not yet received these papers, but on the first of the present month there arrived in this capital the despatches which had been sent from the port of San Blas by the same Portolá, Engineer Don Miguel Constanzó, and Captain Don Juan Pérez, commander of the said packet *San Antonio,* alias *El Príncipe,* which left Monterey on the 9th of July, and notwithstanding eight days of calm, made its long voyage with such fortunate speed that on the first of this month it dropped anchor at San Blas.

Plenty of utensils and provisions were left in the new presidio and mission of San Carlos de

Monterey, and supplies for a year for the purpose of establishing another mission at a suitable distance, with the appellation of San Buenaventura. The lieutenant of Catalonian volunteers, Don Pedro Fages, remained as military commander of those new establishments, with more than thirty men. And it is thought that at this date the captain of the presidio of Loreto, Don Fernando de Rivera, will have joined him, with nineteen more soldiers and the herdsmen and muleteers who conducted two hundred cattle and a supply of provisions from the new mission of San Fernando de Vellicatá, situated beyond the frontier of California as formerly reduced, for he started from that place on the 23d of last May, on the way to the ports of San Diego and Monterey.

Notwithstanding that the warehouses already constructed for the new presidio and mission in the latter place were left well provided with an abundance of supplies on the departure of the packet *San Antonio,* and that his Majesty's two other packets, the *San Carlos* and the *San José,* are presumed to be anchored in the port of San Diego, this superior government orders that at the end of next October the *San Antonio* shall undertake a third voyage from the port of San Blas, and that it shall carry new provisions and thirty Fernandine friars from the last mission which came from Spain, so that in the broad and fertile country explored by the land expedition from the old frontier of Cali-

fornia to the port of San Francisco, which is not far distant from but farther to the north than Monterey, new missions may be erected, and advantage taken of the fortunate opportunity offered by the mildness and good disposition of the countless heathen Indians who inhabit Northern California.

In proof of this happy disposition natural to that numerous and very docile heathen people, the commander, Don Gaspar de Portolá says, and the rest of the officers and the missionary fathers agree, that our Spaniards are as safe at Monterey as though they were in the heart of this capital. But, notwithstanding this, the new presidio has been left sufficiently garrisoned with artillery, troops, and abundant munitions of war. The reverend father president of the missions, destined to that of Monterey, writes in detail and with special pleasure of the friendliness of the Indians, and of the promise that they had already made him to give him their children to be instructed in the mysteries of our holy and Catholic religion. That exemplary and zealous minister of the Faith added a circumstantial report of the solemn Masses which were celebrated between the arrival of both expeditions and the departure of the packet *San Antonio,* and of the solemn procession of the Holy Sacrament which was held on the day of Corpus Christi, the 14th of June, with other particulars which prove the special providence with which God has deigned to favor the success of these expeditions. This is a reward, with-

out doubt, for the ardent zeal of our august sovereign, whose incomparable piety recognizes as the first obligation of his royal crown the extension of the Faith of Jesus Christ in these vast dominions, and the welfare of those unfortunate heathen who without knowledge of the Faith groan under the most extreme slavery to the common enemy.

In order not to hold back this very important news, this report of it has been formed in brief résumé, without awaiting the first papers despatched by land from Monterey, until with them, the diaries of the journeys by land and sea, and the rest of the documents, a complete work covering both expeditions can be issued in its proper time.

Mexico, August 16, 1770.—With permission and by order of the most Excellent Viceroy, in the printing office of the Superior Government.

On account of the information received by the commander of the expedition by sea, Don Vicente Vila, that the packet *San Antonio* was leaving Monterey in July, with the land commander, Señor Portolá, news which he got from the land courier, he made ready for his return to San Blas as soon as that ship should arrive at San Diego, asking for that purpose one of the leather-jacket soldiers and two vaqueros from Captain Don Fernando Rivera, for they all understood the work of a sailor, and with the five whom he had aboard, seeing that the month of August was passing by and the bark *San José*

did not arrive with the crew, nor the *San Antonio,* and fearing that it had passed without stopping at San Diego, he decided to sail for San Blas before the flagship should be made useless by being anchored for so long a time at San Diego. This he did in the month of August, reaching the port of San Blas safely, although shortly after his arrival the commander became seriously ill and died. The bark went on preparing to transport to California twenty sailors and the provisions for the missions, as is said in Part One in chapters twenty and twenty-two.

CHAPTER XXVII

TEN FRIARS LEAVE THE COLLEGE FOR MONTEREY, FOR THE FOUNDING OF FIVE MISSIONS

The fervent zeal of his Excellency the Viceroy being desirous of the conversion of the great number of heathen encountered by the land expedition in the two journeys that had been made in search of the port, he immediately decided that a beginning should be made of ten more missions, in addition to those which he had recommended in advance; that five should be founded in the country between San Fernando de Vellicatá and San Diego; and the other five between the two ports of San Diego and San Francisco, the last region explored by the land expedition. With this object the reverend father guardian of our College of San Fernando was summoned by the illustrious visitor-general, so that he might have ready thirty friars, twenty for California, who were to embark at San Blas on the packet *San Carlos,* and the remaining ten for Monterey, on the *San Antonio,* alias *El Príncipe,* in October of the year 1770.[169]

The twenty embarked for California, as I said in Part One, and so I shall only speak here of the ten destined for Monterey. They were

the following: Father Fray Antonio Paterna, Father Fray Antonio Cruzado, Father Fray Francisco Dumetz, Father Fray Angel Somera, Father Fray Miguel Pieras, Father Fray Buenaventura Sitjar, Father Fray Domingo Juncosa, Father Fray José Caballer, Father Fray Luís Jayme, and Father Fray Pedro Benito Cambón.

These fathers embarked on the packet *San Antonio,* alias *El Príncipe,* on the 20th of January, 1771, and sailed to San Diego. They experienced some storms on the voyage, but, thanks to God, they arrived in perfect safety at the port of San Diego on the 12th of March, finding as ministers at that new mission the father preachers Fray Fernando Parrón and Fray Francisco Gómez, both ill with the painful disease of scurvy. Leaving for the mission and escort the part of the provisions that belonged to them, Captain Don Juan Pérez decided to continue his journey to Monterey with the rest of the cargo and the ten friars, in order to get the blessing of the reverend father president and receive the appointment to his post.

The father preacher Fray Francisco Gómez had asked leave to return to the College for the purpose of recovering from his illness, and, being fearful of losing the chance to go with this bark, and that if he did not take advantage of it now he might be compelled to wait at least another year, he decided to go with the rest to Monterey

to ask permission of the reverend father president to go in that bark to San Blas and from there to the College. And in order to be able to do this without leaving alone in San Diego his companion, Fray Fernando Parrón, who was not less ill, he asked the father prior Fray Juan Paterna, who came as president of the band, to order that one of these ten should remain at San Diego. He consented, and decided that the father preacher Fray Francisco Dumetz should remain as companion of Father Parrón until the reverend father president should decide otherwise.

In accordance with this decision Father Gómez embarked with the other nine, and they left San Diego on the 14th of April. The terrors which they experienced on the rest of the voyage were no less than those they had encountered from San Blas; but, thanks to God, they dropped anchor safely at the port of Monterey on the 21st of May, a very joyful day for the reverend father president, who found himself now with so many laborers to work with fervent spirit in the vineyard of the Lord. He had also the pleasure of celebrating the solemn feast of Corpus Christi on its own day, the 30th of May, with a community of twelve missionary priests, all Franciscans of the Apostolic College of San Fernando, on the very day of the holy patron of the College of San Fernando,[170] as he had celebrated it the preceding year.

CHAPTER XXVIII

ORDERS RECEIVED FROM HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY BY THE REVEREND FATHER PRESIDENT FOR THE NEW MISSIONS

The reverend father president had informed his Excellency that in the port of Monterey there was no running water for irrigating and planting crops for the mission, and that he judged Carmelo to be a better site, for with the waters of the river there the land could be worked, and, as it was not more than a league from the royal presidio, he asked his consent to move it. His Excellency replied, giving his consent to the petition to move the mission to the neighborhood of that river, or wherever he thought best.

At the same time he charged him to found, besides the three missions of San Carlos, San Diego, and San Buenaventura, five more, two named San Gabriel and Santa Clara in the stretch between San Diego and the site chosen for that of San Buenaventura; two, named San Luís Obispo Tolosa and San Antonio de Pádua, between San Buenaventura and San Carlos de Monterey; and that of our father San Francisco in his own port. He sent vestments, sacred vessels, and utensils of church and sac-

risty for them, precisely the same as he had sent for the founding of the five on the frontier of California between Vellicatá and San Diego, as has been said in Part One, chapter twenty-one;[171] and he received in the name of the College the utensils for house and field for those five missions which were bought with the five thousand pesos which his Excellency ordered given to our brother syndic for these establishments. His Excellency also sent him a complete vestment of a chasuble and a ceremonial dalmatic for the church of the new mission of San Carlos. The illustrious visitor-general sent some vestments of all colors, already used, and some very old ones from the churches and sacristies of the Jesuit fathers.

Before putting hand to carrying out the orders of his Excellency for the founding of the missions, he made the assignment of the friars to be their ministers, granting permission to Father Fray Francisco Gómez to go for his health to the College, and to Father Fray Fernando Parrón, who was suffering from the same sickness at San Diego, and had also asked permission to go to the old missions of California to see if he could improve there and be able to go on in the ministry. In view of this he decided that the father preacher Fray Luís Jayme should go as minister to San Diego, with Father Dumetz, who had remained there.

Mission San Antonio de Pádua.

From a nineteenth century painting.

For the founding of San Buenaventura he designated the father preachers Fray Antonio Paterna and Fray Antonio Cruzado; for the mission of San Gabriel he named the missionary fathers Fray Angel Somera and Fray Pedro Benito Cambón; and since these missions were nearer to San Diego than to Monterey, he ordered that these fathers should again embark on the packet *San Antonio,* which was to stop at San Diego on the return, for in this way they would avoid the toil of the journey by land, and since all the boxes of vestments and utensils of house and field could go in the bark, as well as the provisions and other things pertaining to those missions.

For the mission of San Antonio de Pádua he named as ministers the fathers Fray Miguel Pieras and Fray Buenaventura Sitjar; for the mission of San Luís the fathers Fray Domingo Juncosa and Fray José Cavaller, who had to go by land, as the places were not far distant from Monterey; and for the mission of San Carlos the reverend father president remained himself, with his pupil, Fray Juan Crespi.

Even with this number of friars he found himself without ministers for the two missions of Our Seraphic Father San Francisco and the mother Santa Clara. But, as there were not enough soldiers at present for all of them, he decided to write to me and ask me for four friars

from California, which he did; and so the founding was not delayed for lack of missionaries, but for lack of soldiers, as I shall say in the proper place.

They were all satisfied with their assignments, and those who were to embark again went to prepare for their voyage. They discussed with the commander, Don Pedro Fages, the manner of the foundings and the number of guards to be placed in each one of them. These measures completed, the six religious embarked, one destined for the mission of San Diego, the four others for San Buenaventura and San Gabriel, and Father Gómez to go to the College. The commander Don Pedro Fages also embarked with them, to take part in at least one of the foundings. They sailed from the port of Monterey on June 7, 1771. On the 14th of the same month they were in the port of San Diego, and the founding of San Gabriel began at once,[172] as I shall say later. The voyage was continued to San Blas, though the bark did not sail until the 21st.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE FOUNDING OF THE MISSION OF SAN ANTONIO DE PÁDUA IN THE VALLEY OF LOS ROBLES AT LA HOYA IN THE SIERRA DE SANTA LUCÍA

Two days after the bark left Monterey the reverend father president decided to examine the Carmelo River, with the object of setting a hand to the removal of the mission from the presidio.[173] Having found it very suitable for the purpose, he left orders to have the necessary wood cut for the chapel, which, for the present, was to serve for church and dwelling, leaving for this task three young men who had remained with the bark, and four California Indians, with five soldiers for escort, while he proceeded with the founding of the mission of San Antonio, to which he went immediately.

He took with him the fathers Fray Miguel Pieras and Fray Buenaventura Sitjar, the ministers destined for that mission, with an escort of seven soldiers, one of them having the place of corporal, and three sailors for the work of building the houses, together with California Indians for the same purpose. They traveled to

La Hoya in the Sierra de Santa Lucía, about twenty-five leagues distant from the royal presidio of Monterey. Having reached the large valley full of oaks, for which reason it was named Los Robles, and, having examined the place, the reverend father president found a beautiful and very suitable plain in the valley. It was near a river which was running with a good deal of water, and after examining it they found it easy to draw the water from it to irrigate the extensive good land that the valley affords. It was named from the first the camp of San Antonio.*

The site having been examined for a mission, a cross was made, and after it was blessed it was fixed and decorated in an arbor of branches which served as the first church. The reverend father president said the first Mass, making a beginning therewith of the mission on the day of the seraphic doctor, San Buenaventura. From that day many heathen from the neighboring villages came to see the novelty, and, after they had been made to understand by signs the reason for the coming of the Spaniards, they showed much pleasure, demonstrating it by the frequent visits which they made to the fathers, and by the unusual presents which they brought of pine nuts and the seeds upon which they live.

* The first site of the mission was down-stream from the present-day ruins, but it was far north of the La Hoya of the Portolá expedition.

They immediately set to work to build a humble dwelling of logs and a chapel of the same, surrounded with a stockade for defense, and also houses for the guard, servants, and California Indians. In a short time the heathen made known the regard which they felt for the fathers and the confidence that they had in them, for they took them the seeds which they gathered in the fields, telling them to eat all they wanted of them and that they would keep the rest for them for the winter, which they did. Fifteen days after the founding of the mission the reverend father president left it. He was of the opinion that in a short time it would surely be a large mission, because of the many heathen in the vicinity and the affection which they exhibited.

His Reverence took farewell of the new ministers, giving them such advice and instructions as his great ability and the experience of many years dictated to him. With these counsels they went on working with apostolic zeal in the conversion of those very docile heathen.

CHAPTER XXX

REMOVAL OF THE MISSION OF SAN CARLOS TO THE BANKS OF CARMELO RIVER

As soon as the founding of the mission of San Antonio de Pádua was finished, the reverend father president went to the royal presidio of Monterey. Although he desired with lively anxiety to go on to the founding of the other, San Luís Obispo, it was not possible on account of the lack of soldiers for escorts; and so he set to work to move the mission, as his Excellency had charged him to do. For this purpose he ordered his father companion, Fray Juan[174] Crespi, to remain in the camp, with the two ministers destined for San Luís, while his Reverence decided to go and live at the place which he had designated in Carmelo, to start the work on the church and dwelling, and to urge it along. With this object he moved to the banks of the Carmelo in the early part of August, 1771, escorted by the five soldiers.[175]

Some timbers had already been cut by the three sailors and the four California Indians, in which the soldiers assisted. And so he made a beginning of the work, building for the present one room for a chapel, and adding to it a dwell-

ing with four rooms and one larger one for a granary, besides a house for the dwelling of the boys with its kitchen, all of wood with a flat roof, and all surrounded by a good stockade. At the corner of the square of the stockade a house, also with a flat roof, was built for the guard-room of the soldiers, and within sight some corrals for the mules and cattle were made. As the workers were few and there was no need for haste, since all the loads and utensils belonging to the mission were at the old mission next to the royal presidio, they did not hurry. For this reason the work was not concluded and the complete transfer effected until the latter part of December of the same year, 1771, by which time everything had been moved, but the two ministers of the mission remained at the presidio to say Mass until such time as the founding of the mission should be completed.

With this change the mission of San Carlos was placed in a delightful spot, upon a hill which has in sight a broad plain very suitable for planting, being the entire plain of the Carmelo River, whose water flows the whole year through. Although in the dry season there is not much water, in the time of the rains it cannot be forded. Its entire bed is well forested with willows and other trees, with extensive thickets of blackberries, and an infinity of Castilian roses, with which the fields are also well covered.

At the left it has a good lagoon at the foot of the hill on which the mission stands, with plenty of water, especially in the rainy season, when it cannot contain within its banks all that it receives from the surrounding hills. At that time it runs in a large channel to the sea, which is a little more than two gunshots distant, and is the small bay to the south of Point of Pines. In the dry season this lagoon maintains its supply of good water, for it has some springs in it; and in the rainy season, by means of a dam of some hundred varas, which is the space to the hill and the width of the lagoon, it seems that it would be easy to retain enough water to irrigate as much as might be wished of the plain that is in sight.

This mission is surrounded by hills with good pasture for every kind of stock. It has an abundance of firewood, as well as timber for building, such as pines, white poplars, and some redwoods;[176] and at a distance of a little less than a league there are many cypresses on the point named for those trees because of their abundance. It has a beautiful sky, although at the conclusion of the rains there are frequent fogs. The seaward view from this mission is across the bay. In the vicinity of the mission there are several villages of heathen, who, as soon as the mission was founded, began to frequent it, and whose conversion soon began, as I shall say in the proper place when I speak of the state of that mission.

Mission San Gabriel Arcángel.

From a nineteenth century painting.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE FOUNDING OF THE MISSION OF SAN GABRIEL ARCÁNGEL, AND THE REASON WHY THEY DID NOT GO ON TO THE FOUNDING OF SAN BUENAVENTURA[177]

The commander and the reverend father president agreed that the mission of San Gabriel should be founded with ten soldiers[178] on the river named Jesús de los Temblores, known by the soldiers as the Santa Ana River; and that of San Buenaventura in the first town of the channel of Santa Bárbara, named Asumpta, with a guard of fifteen men, in view of the large numbers of heathen seen on the channel. In consequence of this decision the commander, with the missionary fathers who were going to these foundings, arrived at San Diego in the packet *San Antonio* on the 14th of July, and as soon as the commander was relieved of the despatching of that bark, which was on the 21st of July,[179] he took up the matter of the foundings. But on the 22d it happened that ten men, including eight[180] leather-jacket soldiers, one of the volunteers, and a muleteer, deserted from the presidio at San Diego.

Finding himself in this unexpected trouble, he begged that one of the missionary fathers

might get up courage to follow them with some soldiers, to persuade them to come back willingly to the presidio. Fray Antonio Paterna volunteered for this service, and the commander gave him a blank paper with his signature, so that he might offer them pardon in his name, and anything else that might seem best to him, on condition that they should desist from the attempted desertion. He followed them, and having overtaken them, succeeded in persuading them to return, promising them pardon in the name of the captain.[181] They returned to the mission of San Diego, and for their greater security they claimed the protection of the church, and with their paper to defend them they went, now pardoned, to the barracks.

The march was ordered to go on to the founding of the mission of San Gabriel Arcángel, for which the two missionary fathers, Fray Angel Somera and Fray Benito Cambón, set out on the 6th of August, escorted by the ten soldiers who were destined for that mission. The pack train set out with them carrying the provisions for that mission, escorted by four soldiers and managed by four muleteers who were to return immediately to San Diego to conduct the provisions for the mission of San Buenaventura.

On this same night of the 6th of August a corporal, with five leather-jacket soldiers, deserted from San Diego, and on account of the departure of the rest for San Gabriel, no one

went out in pursuit of them until the 24th of August, when they returned to the mission and carried off some beef cattle. Indignant at this, the commander now started out on their trail. He found them entrenched and determined to die rather than give themselves up, and in order to avoid killing anyone he returned without them to the mission, where he begged the father preacher Fray Francisco Dumetz to be good enough to go and make an effort to win them over, as he in fact did, subduing them in the same manner as the first ones were won over.

All these troubles[182] served for nothing but delay and to chill the spirit for the mission foundings, through fear that when occupied in them, at the critical moment the soldiers would leave the missions abandoned, to the evident peril of the lives of the fathers.

The fathers who went to found the mission of San Gabriel arrived at the river of Los Temblores.* They examined its banks and were not satisfied with them, so they went on to the valley of San Miguel, and near the river of this name, not far from its source, they found a place that suited them better for the mission. Accordingly, they decided to locate it on a hill in the valley, at the foot of which run some good streams of water, with which the fertile land in that valley can be irrigated, in addition to the water of the river, which is only about half a league distant.

* The Santa Ana River.

These streams have a good growth of cottonwoods, willows, and other trees, thickets of blackberries, and innumerable wild grape vines; and about a league from that place there is a large grove of live oaks, with many arroyos of running water.

In consideration of all these advantages they set to work at the founding, and on the 8th of September, 1771, the day of the nativity of Our Lady, raising the holy cross, standard of our redemption, in a small shelter of branches which served temporarily for a church, they celebrated the first Mass, thus making a beginning of this mission dedicated to Archangel San Gabriel. They immediately set to work to build a church of logs and tule, and some humble dwellings for the fathers and the soldiers, in which work the heathen of the neighboring villages aided greatly, carrying the timbers and poles and assisting gladly.

As soon as the work was under way, the pack train returned to San Diego with the four soldiers and three muleteers, only ten soldiers and one muleteer remaining in the new mission. With their labor the dwellings made progress, the heathen helping, much to the gratification of the ministers. Their friendship was such that on the day when the fathers moved[183] to the mission the heathen wished to carry their cots, and decorated them with many wild flowers from the

fields. With the aid of so many workers these dwellings were finished in a few days, and a good stockade was also made for defense, and some corrals for the cattle and horses.

The heathen frequented the mission in great numbers, so that the small guard of ten men was considered insufficient. In view of this, Father Fray Angel decided to go to San Diego to confer with the captain, with the object of asking for more soldiers. He set out on this journey, with three soldiers as escort, on the first of October, and arrived at San Diego on the third. Obtaining two more soldiers he returned to the new mission, where he arrived with this small reënforcement on the ninth of the same month of October without having had any accident; nor had anything happened in that time at the mission.

On the very next day, the tenth of October, however, two soldiers who were on horseback were attacked by an innumerable crowd of heathen, all armed. It was so sudden that there was no time for them to buckle on their leather jackets, and while they were occupied in doing this the chief of the Indians let fly an arrow at one of the soldiers, who caught it with his shield and fired his gun at him; the balls passed through the Indian and he fell, whereupon the rest fled. When the shot was heard at the mission the corporal hastened to the spot with the rest of the soldiers, where he found that they

had just killed the Indian. They told the corporal what had happened, and he ordered them to cut off the malefactor's head and fix it upon a pole, to be placed in public view for the purpose of frightening the rest. In the afternoon he sent six soldiers to the village to let the Indians know that they had no fear of them, and also to tell them to be quiet, for they had not come to make war on them unless they gave reason for it, and that they had already seen that the Spaniards had treated them well as long as they did no damage.

By means of these and similar arguments, which they made them understand by signs, peace was made, and after some days had passed the Indians came to the mission to beg for the head of their chief, which, through the supplications of the fathers, had been already removed from the pole, and they gave it to them. But, although they made no further attack,[184] they did not frequent the mission until little by little fear left them. They afterwards told the fathers that the reason for the attack had been that a soldier had assaulted an Indian woman of the village. Their chief being informed of this, wished to avenge the injury, and called all the neighboring villages together. Such satisfaction as was possible was given them by the fathers, who counseled them what to do, and as a result of this advice they gradually forgot the affair and once more came to visit the mission.

A few days after this event occurred at the mission the captain commander arrived there, with the fathers who were going to found San Buenaventura, accompanied by all the soldiers. They consisted of twelve of the volunteers who had just arrived from California, to replace those who had died of scurvy, as has been said, and fourteen of the leather-jackets, besides four muleteers who came with the pack train and the provisions for the mission of San Buenaventura.

In view of what had happened at San Gabriel, and being ignorant at that time of the cause of the uprising of the Indians there, he decided to increase the guard, adding six soldiers to it, thinking that an escort of sixteen leather-jacket soldiers and two volunteers would be sufficient. He then had only twelve volunteers and eight leather-jackets left. These were not enough for the mission of San Buenaventura, for which reason that work was postponed, and up to the present, on account of that same lack of soldiers, it has not been founded. Seeing this, the two fathers who were to have gone to San Buenaventura decided to remain in San Gabriel to await the orders of the reverend father president, to whom they wrote, relating everything that had occurred, sending the letter by the same captain, who went on with the rest of the soldiers for the presidio of Monterey.

Shortly afterwards the two ministers of the mission of San Gabriel fell ill and were compelled to return to California. In consequence the reverend father president appointed in their places the two who were waiting there. He asked me at the same time to send him some others for San Buenaventura, and I sent him the father preacher Fray Tomás de la Peña, in place of Father Fray Fernando Parrón, who had also returned on account of sickness; and the father preachers Fray Ramón Ussón and Fray Juan Figuer. Thus on the part of the missionaries there has been no failure in founding that mission. On the contrary, as above stated, it was because of the lack of soldiers, and for this reason the founding of the rest was delayed.

However, in order that in the interval until more soldiers should come from California, the site for the mission of Our Father San Francisco might be examined, the father president decided that Father Fray Juan Crespi should go and examine the harbor, for which purpose he also invited the captain commander Don Pedro Fages, which exploration, as related in the diary kept by that father missionary, I have thought it best to copy literally, so that the sites and places which were found in the stretch between the port of Monterey and that of Our Father San Francisco may be kept in mind, in order to decide upon the best course to pursue.[185]

CHAPTER XXXII

DIARY KEPT DURING THE EXPLORATION THAT WAS MADE OF THE HARBOR OF OUR FATHER SAN FRANCISCO*

March 20, 1772, Friday of the second week of Lent.[186]—About half-past ten in the morning the captain commander, Don Pedro Fages, and I, with the help of God, set out from the royal presidio of San Carlos de Monterey, with the determination to go and examine the harbor of Our Father San Francisco, to look for the most suitable site for the mission which is to be founded there. We were accompanied in this exploration by twelve soldiers, six from the Company of Volunteers and the other six from the Leather-jackets, with one muleteer and a California Indian for the pack mules. Taking the road to the southeast, after four hours' travel we came to a river containing a good deal of water, which we

* It used to be thought that this Fages-Crespi expedition of 1772 was the first to go inland from Monterey to San Francisco Bay, but the present writer discovered an unknown diary of an expedition over the same ground made by Pedro Fages in 1770. In 1911 he published a translation of the diary in the Academy of Pacific Coast History *Publications,* vol. II, no. 3 (Berkeley). Richman used the present writer's transcript.

forded with some difficulty, and camped on its banks. I named this river Santa Delfina.*

Saturday, March 21.—About half-past six in the morning we set out from the Santa Delfina River[187] taking the road to the north-northwest, towards a broad plain which has an extent of about four leagues, and is confined by a mountain range in the same direction. This plain is without trees. After traveling a league and a quarter across it we came to an arroyo, not very deep, which has plenty of water, but it did not seem to have any current, and we found it too miry to be forded. This caused us to travel about a league, winding about until we succeeded in rounding it, with some trouble. Shortly afterward, following this plain, we came to another arroyo with a good stream of running water, level with the land.[188] We crossed it successfully and on its bank near the ford we found two huts of the heathen, made of branches and covered with grass. Hearing the noise, ten heathen ran out of the huts and on seeing us fled like deer, and it was of no use to call to them with the object of stopping them. On the banks of this arroyo we saw a great many fish baskets well made of rushes, which the heathen used for fishing in that arroyo.

We noticed that these arroyos are very short of firewood, and that they are no doubt formed by the many lagoons of fresh water that are found in

* The route to the Salinas on this day's march was along the line of the present highway, which runs southeasterly for some eight miles, then turns northeast to the bridge near Old Hill Town.

this plain to the northeast.[189] In the distance we saw flowing down, a river or large arroyo which descends from the mountains which we described and whose bed is well grown with trees. The arroyo once crossed we continued by the same plain until we reached the foot of a medium-sized range, without stones, well covered with grass, but without any trees at all. It is four leagues distant from the Santa Delfina River. We ascended a pass and then descended to a little valley through which we saw running a good arroyo of water, well grown with trees, cottonwoods, alders, and willows, on whose banks we stopped, after having traveled seven hours and a quarter. We had covered about six long leagues without seeing any heathen but the ten of whom I spoke at the Arroyo of the Fish Weirs, although we did find on the whole many of their paths and tracks. I named this stream where we halted the Arroyo of San Benito.*

March 22, Third Sunday in Lent.—This day dawned with a heavy frost, so heavy indeed that even the water in the vessels was frozen. After Mass had been said, all the men being present, we set out a little after seven, taking the road directly

* This day's march was close to the highway from the Salinas River through Salinas to San Juan Mission. The miry arroyo which they rounded was Natividad Creek, which, with Gabilan Creek, forms a marsh just northeast of Salinas. The Arroyo of the Fish Weirs was Lagunitas Creek. The pass over Gabilan Range was approximately that now followed by the highway. The old road is a little south of the highway, and comes out at the Cement Works. The stream called San Benito by Crespi was San Juan Creek, and the camp was near Mission San Juan.

to the north-northeast, which was blocked for us by some miry marshes that caused us to make a detour of about two leagues. After leaving the arroyo of San Benito we came to a beautiful plain, which is about three leagues long from east to west and about a league and a half wide from north to south. It seemed to me that it should not be left without a name, so in passing I called it San Pascual Bailón. The whole valley is of good arable land, very level and covered with grass on the skirts of the mountains which lie to the south. We saw some oaks and live oaks, and, on the summits of the mountains mentioned, some redwoods. At the end of the plain flows a small river which does not carry much water, and the valley has no other supply. We saw many antelopes and tracks of bears. This seemed to me a very good site for a settlement, in-so-far as the land and water are concerned, though firewood may be scarce. From the arroyo of San Benito, which flows at high water with a volume of more than four irrigating canals, it seems to me that enough water could easily be obtained for planting.

After crossing this little river and valley we entered another valley of level land, and, turning from the north-northeast, we went northwest, when we immediately came to four lagoons and a stream of running water. We found the whole country well covered with grass. About a league after leaving the foregoing valley we entered another broad and

spacious one, about four or more leagues wide; its longest dimension is from northwest to southeast, but its termination is not known. The land is very good, with abundant pasturage, and it has innumerable large lagoons of fresh water and three or four villages of heathen, who, by means of rafts, catch a great deal of fish in the lagoons. They showed themselves to be mild and friendly. The valley has several arroyos of good running water, whose beds are well grown with trees—cottonwoods, alders, and willows—but on the plains not a tree is to be seen, though they are all covered with grass.

More trees were to be seen in some places in the valley in the distance, but we thought that they were probably along the arroyos. Near one of them which we crossed we found a very populous village, for we counted thirty grass houses. At the braying of the mules they were frightened and all ran into the houses; although we called to them and told them by signs to have no fear, showing them some beads, they would not accept them.*

We went on our way and came to another arroyo with plenty of water and alder trees, on whose bank we halted after traveling five hours and a half. As we had marched very rapidly and along a very level

* On March 22 they went eastward along the south side of San Benito Valley (San Pascual Bailón) to Hollister Valley. Crossing San Benito River they turned sharply northwest, entered Santa Clara Valley north of Hudner, passed Tequisquita Slough and San Felipe Lake, crossed the broad valley (San Bernardino de Sena) and camped on Llagas Creek a little north of Gilroy.

road, as smooth as the palm of the hand, we concluded that we had traveled nearly eight leagues. We saw in this valley many marshes and tule patches, with thousands of cranes and geese. As this broad valley seemed to me very suitable for a good mission, I named it San Bernardino de Sena,[190] so that this saint may intercede with His Divine Majesty for the conversion of these heathen.

Monday, March 23.—We started out on this very cold day about a quarter past six in the morning, following the course of the same valley directly to the northwest. After about two hours' travel we crossed an arroyo of running water which traverses the plain from side to side. We saw that the valley was narrowing, its width now being no more than two leagues. We then ascended a pass through some low hills which jut across one side of the valley; the other side continues to be level land.*

We descended the pass and from its foot followed the same valley. Crossing another arroyo with a great deal of running water we continued along the same valley, all of level land, and much of it well grown with oaks and live oaks. Its width now is one league, in some places more; the greater part of it is of good land with plenty of pasture. In it we

* They were following the west side of the valley. The "pass" was over the low hills jutting eastward into the valley near San Martin. Camp was made on the 23d near Coyote, where the lake still persists. Next day they descended Coyote Creek and camped near Milpitas, or a little north of there. The Plain of los Robles was the oak-covered Santa Clara Valley. The river to the west which they could trace by the tree line was the Guadalupe.

gathered a good supply of chicory, and saw fourteen antelopes and some deer. Having marched six hours, two of which we spent in traveling to the pass and the other four from it, we made in all this time about six leagues. The valley now grows very narrow. We halted on the bank of a running stream, which seemed to us not to be permanent, but to flow only in the rainy season. But near the arroyo we saw a lagoon of fresh and permanent water, which I named San Benito.

During the whole of this day's march we did not see a single heathen, but we did see many well-beaten paths and other signs of them. As soon as we arrived at the camping place two soldiers went out to hunt ducks in the arroyo, and at their shots six heathen showed themselves on a hill, from which they began to shout so loud that we heard them at the camp, but they did not come near.

Tuesday, March 24.—At half-past six in the morning we set out from the camping place by the same valley in the direction of the northwest. We soon found the valley widening again; all the land is level, good, and well covered with grass and grown with oaks and live oaks. Sometimes we followed the course of the arroyo running from the preceding camp, which carried plenty of water. After two hours' travel the whole valley began to widen so that it must reach two leagues. From here it turns to the north-northwest, and continues to widen till it is about six leagues from mountains to

mountains, all black, mellow soil, well covered with several sorts of herbs and grass, with many oaks and live oaks, and if it had water it could support many settlements.

This plain is that of Los Robles of the port of San Francisco, in which the expedition stopped on the seventh of November, 1769. Although at this time we passed some distance off the road, many trees can be seen in the distance. We judged them to be on the river which empties into the point or head of the estuary of the port of San Francisco, and which is formed by several streams that seem to come down from the mountains. But where we passed this day we did not see any other arroyo than the one named. Although we desired to halt near its mouth, we were prevented by some marshes, so miry that we had a great deal of trouble in getting out of them. The march lasted a little more than five hours, and we halted in the same valley on the bank of an arroyo with little water, but it was running, and its bed has alders. It is about parallel with the point or head of the estuary or arm of the sea, that runs to the south-southeast. We must have traveled about six leagues. I named this last arroyo Encarnación. Near it we found two villages of heathen who showed themselves to be very friendly toward us.

Wednesday, March 25.—On this day of the Incarnation, after Mass had been said, we set out about seven in the morning by the same valley in the

direction of north-northwest. At the start we traveled about a league from the estuary at the foot of a bare mountain range, and after traveling a short distance we were three leagues from the estuary. All the land is level, black, and very well covered with good grass, mallows, and other herbs. In the transit of three leagues we passed five villages of heathen, which are all on the banks of the arroyos. The Indians are very mild and have well-made houses. Afterwards we passed five more arroyos with running water, which spreads over the plain. The land is all good, although it has not a single tree or any firewood, except what is in the beds of the arroyos, a reason why it may be difficult to found settlements there.

The march lasted seven hours, during which we must have traveled about eight leagues from the point of the estuary, and we halted on the bank of a large arroyo close to the mountains skirting the broad plain. The bed of the arroyo is very full of alders, cottonwoods, and willows. We stopped about three leagues from the estuary, from which place we descried it, and it seemed to most of the party that it must be about four leagues wide. I called the arroyo where we halted San Salvador de Horta.*

* The march on the 25th was along the edge of the foothills, and camp was made at San Lorenzo Creek (San Salvador de Horta). Crespi overestimated the distance from the foothills to the estuary (San Francisco Bay). On the 26th they advanced to the site of East Oakland. The two arms of the bay forming "something like a peninsula" were Lake Merritt and the Oakland estuary.

Thursday, March 26.—Shortly after six we set out, following the course of the valley and the estuary in the same direction to the north-northwest, by level land of the same nature as the preceding. The plain is more than six leagues wide, and in it we saw many deer. After traveling four leagues we saw many tracks of other animals which seemed to me to be buffalo: but the soldiers say they are mule-deer, and that they have seen the same kind in New Mexico. We had a chance to see on the road eight of those animals together, but, although the soldiers made an effort to kill one, they could not overtake them.

In the space of four leagues that we traveled we crossed five arroyos of running water, three of them medium-sized and two very large, their banks grown with alders, cottonwoods, live oaks, and some laurels. At the end of four leagues we halted not very far from an arm of the estuary, which forms with another something like a peninsula, where there is a grove of live oaks, which one can enter only from the mainland side. The camping place is about four leagues from the principal estuary or arm of the sea, which we made out from this place very well, and it looks like a sea to us. This camp is situated about three leagues before coming to the parallel of the mouth of the Gulf of the Farallones. I observed the latitude of this spot and it was thirty-seven degrees and fifty-four minutes. Bears, many deer, and the tracks of other animals whose foot-

prints resemble beasts of the mule kind have been seen here. The site is very suitable for a good settlement; for on account of the proximity of the forest they could provide themselves with timber and firewood. This place was called Arroyo del Bosque.

Friday, March 27.—We started in the morning about a quarter past six, in the same direction, to the north-northwest. Because of the estuary which surrounds the wood and penetrates into the land about four or five leagues until it heads in a mountain range, we were compelled to travel about a league and a half by some ranges of hills, which, although they are all of pure earth, with pasturage, annoyed us very much with their ascents and descents. At the end of three leagues we entered an immense plain, traveling about three leagues apart from the great estuary or arm of the sea. Here we found ourselves three leagues from the place whence we set out, and in the parallel of the gate by which the two great estuaries communicate with the Gulf of the Farallones. We halted a little while in order to map the entry through the gate to the mainland, and it appeared to all of us to run from west to east through the gulf where the seven or more farallones are lined up. We observed that the gate is about three-quarters of a league wide. In the same gate, on the south side, there is a farallón about an eighth of a league from the point at the gate. In front of the gate are three little islands,

one small, in the middle of the gate, another about a half a league away, and another about a league, all of them quite widely separated from each other and from the gate.*

From the head of the great estuary or arm of the sea which extends to the south-southeast, to the place where it communicates with the Gulf of the Farallones, we found it to be fifteen leagues. At the head it is about a league wide, and it goes on widening little by little until it is nearly five leagues across, the width that it seems to us to have near the gate.

We went on for a league more to the northwest and halted on the bank of an arroyo which is about one league from the parallel of the gate. As soon as we stopped the soldiers succeeded in killing a bear, so that they had fresh meat to go on with. In the march of this day we came to seven arroyos of running water; three of them are opposite the gate, spread over the plain, and empty into the estuary. On the plain we saw many lirios[191] and an abundance of very leafy sweet marjoram. Neither in this march nor in the preceding one have we seen a single

* On the 27th they turned eastward to round the inlet of which Lake Merritt is now a part, and emerged from the hills near the Technical High School, where Father Crespi made his observations of the Golden Gate. The islands which he describes in the gate are Alcatraz Island, Goat Island (Yerba Buena), and Angel Island. The arroyo where they camped, a league north of the point of observation, was probably Strawberry Creek, and the camp site near the western side of the campus of the University of California. Crespi slightly overestimated the distance from the southern end of the bay to the Golden Gate.

heathen, and very few tracks of them. During both marches we have been much plagued with zancudos and mosquitoes, which molested us as much or more than they molest the inhabitants of the port of San Blas.

Saturday, March 28.—Day broke very cloudy. We set out from that arroyo in the morning, following the road to the north-northwest over level ground, although it was now narrower. In two leagues we left the plain and entered some hills, and descended by them to a deep arroyo, whose ford had be fixed on account of its steepness. It had plenty of water, and on its banks we found a good village of heathen, very fair and bearded, who did not know what to do, they were so happy to see us in their village. They gave us many cacomites, amoles and two dead geese, dried and stuffed with grass to use as decoys in hunting others, large numbers being attracted in this way. We returned the gift with beads, for which they were very grateful, and some of them went with us to another village near by.

We crossed four more arroyos with running water, and after four and a half hours' travel stopped on the bank of another arroyo at the foot of some hills, well covered with good grass, which form in the course of the estuary, or second arm of the sea, a large round bay, which resembles a great lake of about eight leagues extent. In it we saw an island, and also four young whales blowing, from which we inferred that there must be enough depth there for

ships of deep draft, and in that case all the fleets of Spain could find room in it. The march covered five leagues. As soon as we arrived eight heathen came bringing us gifts, and we reciprocated.

From the mouth to this bay, or lake, there runs another estuary or arm of the sea, about three or four leagues wide. It communicates with the Gulf of the Farallones by the same mouth that I mentioned, that of the great estuary or arm which runs to the south-southeast; so that apparently barks can enter by the mouth, and, ascending by the estuary, can enter the bay or round lake, where they can drop anchor, as the sea is always calm.*

March 29, Fourth Sunday in Lent.—After Mass we set out at what must have been seven in the morning. We climbed the hills by the bay or large lake and turned toward it with the object of going to the mountains on the north in order to reach Point Reyes, near which we judged the real port to be, thinking that the second estuary, or arm of the sea, ended in that lake. But it was not so, for we saw that the estuary continued in front of the mountains, although it was now not so wide, but ran in a deep bed a quarter of a league across, in some parts less,

* On the 28th they continued past the sites of Berkeley and Albany to eastern Richmond, where they turned into the hills. The deep arroyo which they then crossed was San Pablo Creek. The "large round bay" resembling a lake was San Pablo Bay, and the island in it was Mare Island. Camp was made somewhere near Rodeo. The other "estuary or arm of the sea" mentioned in the last paragraph was the stretch of San Francisco Bay from Golden Gate to San Pablo Bay.

and cut off our passage to Point Reyes, it having been our intention to examine the end of the bay and to go around it as we had rounded the one to the south-southeast.

We kept on going up, following the course of the estuary, and traveling by hills of pure earth and pasture, from which we made out the bank of the estuary on the other side. It appeared to us to be low land in front of the mountains to the north, which I called the Sierra of Our Father San Francisco, since they seemed to be the guardian of his port. From the end of the bay or round lake the estuary continues with the same width, turning in the direction of the north-northwest.*

In the whole distance we traveled on these hills there was not a single tree. The bed of the estuary is very deep and its shores precipitous; on its banks we did not see so much as a bush; and the water was so still that it seemed to have no current. On the banks on the other side we made out many villages, whose Indians called to us and invited us to go to their country, but we were prevented by a stretch of water about a quarter of a league wide; and many of them, seeing that we were going away, came to this side, crossing over on rafts, and gave us some of their wild food.

* Here he means that San Pablo Bay extends north-northwest. They now found their way around it impeded by Carquínez Straits, which they followed this day, continuing beyond to camp near Martínez. Crespi's leagues here are short, measured by air line, for the country was very rough.

In this part of our day's march we came to five large villages of very mild heathen, with pleasant faces, and of a fair complexion, bearded and white, all with long hair which they tied with twine. We were well received by them all and presented with some of their wild food. After following the course of this estuary for six leagues, we observed that the water had a current towards the round bay, and that it made some foam, which, we observed, lasted but a short space. In the distance, whence the estuary came, we noticed that the land makes an opening, which is like the scud of the sea or low land, but we could not make sure of it because of the roughness of the land. After traveling rapidly six and a half hours, for in the judgment of everybody we must have covered ten leagues, we came to a small valley through which runs an arroyo, grown with alders and oaks, which has running water and goes to empty into the estuary which we were following. It is not far from the camping place, whence we went to try its water, which we found to be fresh.

Monday, March 30.—We set out early in the morning, following the road to the northeast by level land. After two leagues we crossed a deep arroyo with much running water and well grown with oaks, cottonwoods, alders, and laurels. The arroyo crossed, we entered a beautiful plain or valley, about three leagues in extent in all directions, of level land, black loose soil well covered with grass, and grown with oaks and live oaks. In this

Crespi's Map of San Francisco Bay, 1772.

Reproduced from Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest, 1542–1794.* Original in the Archivo General de Indias.

valley, which reaches to the estuary, we saw some lagoons. The site seems to me excellent for a settlement, and I called it Santa Angela de Fulgino. It is in about thirty-nine degrees north latitude.[192]

As soon as we entered this valley four heathen shouted at us, making signs that we should go and receive a bow trimmed with feathers, the pelt of an animal, and arrows which they had thrust into the ground. The captain went forward with a soldier and received their present, returning it with beads, with which they were well pleased. We went on and saw in the same valley two villages. We passed near the one from which came the four heathen mentioned, and they made us a good present of their seeds, to which we responded with some strings of beads, making them very happy.*

We set out from this valley and entered some medium-sized hills of pure earth and pasture. We ascended a pass to its highest point in order to make observations, and we saw that the land opened into a great plain as level as the palm of the hand, the valley opening about half the quadrant, sixteen quarters from northwest to southeast, all level land as far as the eye could reach. Below the pass we be-

* The deep arroyo crossed two leagues from camp was probably Grayson Creek, and the crossing near Pacheco, where they entered the broad valley round about Concord. Leaving this valley they crossed the eastern spur of Mt. Diablo, whence they, the first Europeans, gazed upon the great San Joaquín Valley. The two large rivers before them were the Sacramento and the San Joaquín, at the head of Suisun Bay. Crespi's San Francisco River was the San Joaquín. Camp this night was probably eastward of Antioch.

held the estuary that we were following and saw that it was formed by two large rivers. Where these united to form the estuary we saw a good-sized island; each one of the rivers seemed to us to have a width of about a quarter of a league. We saw also that one of these rivers, the one to the south, was formed by two other rivers as wide as the principal one, a quarter of a league, and that the place where they united must be about eight leagues distant from the pass.

We made out that these three arms or three large rivers were formed by a very large river, a league in width at least, which descended from some high mountains to the southeast, very far distant, all that part of it which the eye reached descending from the east, and then dividing into three rivers. These three flowed to the north, making several windings, and afterwards they formed only two, one of which divided into two others, and the three then united to form once more the great river which entered the bay or round lake of which I have already spoken.

Besides the above we saw from the summit of the pass large groves of trees, very distant. It seemed to us that none of them were in the beds of those large rivers mentioned, though we judged they were on arroyos which empty into those rivers.

This examination concluded, we descended from the pass in order to go on and finish the day's march, which covered on this day ten leagues, all of level

land, and we halted on the bank of a small arroyo of half salty water, about a quarter of a league distant from one of the large rivers, which we went to examine, finding the water fresh and still, and apparently with no current, on account of being very deep and having steep banks.

One league before halting, as it was nearly midday, I stopped to observe the latitude, and it was thirty-nine degrees and thirteen minutes. I gave to this great river the name of my Father San Francisco, so that he may intercede with His Divine Majesty for the conversion of all the immense body of heathen that no doubt must be on the banks of the great stream, which it seems must be the largest that has been discovered in New Spain.

From this place we decided to return to the royal presidio of San Carlos de Monterey, in view of the fact that our passage to Point Reyes for the examination of the port of Our Father San Francisco was cut off by these rivers. It is very certain, judging by what we saw, that it is necessary to cross these streams with a boat or canoe. Otherwise it is necessary to ascend the mountains to the southeast to look for the head[193] of the large river from which are formed the three mentioned that afterward unite to enter the round bay, and in order to go so far up to cross, a larger number of soldiers and more provisions would be necessary. For this reason we decided to go back to give account to his Excellency of what we had seen in this exploration

and journey, so that he might decide what is the best course to pursue.

Counting the distance that we have traveled we are seventy-one leagues from the royal presidio of Monterey, by the route over which we came. But we know that we have wound about a great deal, and on the return we are going to look for a more direct road, in order to shorten the journey as much as possible. This will serve also to explore the interior of the country.

CHAPTER XXXIII

RETURN JOURNEY FROM THE EXPLORATION OF THE HARBOR OF OUR SERAPHIC FATHER SAN FRANCISCO

Tuesday, March 31.—At six in the morning we set out from this salt arroyo, taking the road to the south-southeast[194] through a valley of level land, at the foot of the mountains, which guided us in ascending a pass, and then descended at one side of the valley of Santa Angela de Fulgino, which is well grown with large oaks and live oaks, has fertile land and is of wide extent. This valley finished, we entered a beautiful valley of considerable width and good level land, well covered with grass, with good arroyos well grown with alders, cottonwood, laurels, roses, and other trees not known to us. The valley and the greater part of its sides are covered in the same manner with those trees. Once in this valley we turned directly to the southeast. After leaving this valley we entered another having the same characteristics as the first; in the course of it we came to three villages with some little grass houses. As soon as the heathen caught sight of us they ran away, shouting and panic-stricken without knowing what had happened. From this valley we

turned south, and halted in the same valley on the bank of an arroyo with plenty of running water, having traveled eight leagues in six hours of fast marching. This valley appeared to me to be a charming site for a settlement, with all the advantages that are required.

Wednesday, April 1.—We set out at six, following the same valley in a southerly direction, the excellence of the road continuing, with many trees. This day we covered ten leagues, all by the same valley, all level land, covered with grass and trees, with many and good arroyos, and with numerous villages of very gentle and peaceful heathen, many of them of fair complexion. It is a very suitable place for a good mission, having good lands, much water, firewood and many heathen. We stopped, after traveling ten leagues, in the same valley, on the bank of a running arroyo with plenty of water. At the entrance the valley has a width of a quarter of a league, and little by little it goes on widening up to four full leagues, which is probably also the width at this place.*

* From the camp near San Joaquín River they crossed the range, east of Mt. Diablo, to the Concord valley (Santa Angela de Fulgino), entering it perhaps at Clayton and continuing west to Walnut Creek. Turning southeast, they proceeded past Danville, through San Ramón Valley. Camp was apparently made near San Ramón. Next day they continued south to Livermore Valley, skirted its western edge, and camped near Pleasanton. Next day they descended Arroyo de la Laguna, crossing it near Sunol. Leaving Sunol Valley (Santa Coleta) they crossed Alameda Creek, ascended Mission Pass, reëntered the valley of San Francisco Bay, and continued past the head of the bay to a point near Milpitas.

Thursday, April 2.—We set out at six in the morning, still following the valley in a southerly direction. It continues with the same width until it gradually narrows. It is evident that the land is not so good now, and it is broken by some descents and small ravines, but it all continues full of oaks and live oaks, as does also the arroyo, which flows through the valley with an abundance of water and trees. In a league and a half of travel after our departure we crossed the arroyo, which had a good deal of water and a width of about six varas. As soon as this is passed the valley widens, making a valley three-quarters of a league wide, with good land well forested with trees, like the one mentioned above. On the other side of the valley we crossed another arroyo even larger, also full of trees. In the southeastern part of this valley the two arroyos unite, and from the junction a good-sized river now flows in the same direction. The place is very desirable for a good mission, although we did not stop there I named it Santa Coleta.

We continued toward the south and crossed an arroyo, on the bank of which we found a good village. We ascended a pass, and observed that the road did not run toward the head of the south-southeastern arm of the estuary which in coming we had on the northwest. After going about five leagues we found ourselves on the road by which we came in the immense plain of this arm of the sea or great estuary of Our Father San Francisco. We now

turned from the south to the south-southeast, following the broad plain by a road about three leagues distant from the estuary, for there are many inlets and lagoons formed from the principal bed of the bay, some of which penetrate into the land about a league. After five more leagues of travel, following the bay, we came to the arroyo and two villages which we called on our way up Encarnación. They are about in the parallel of the point of the bay. We did not find the heathen whom we saw on the way up, but we saw others from the preceding villages. We did not stop at the arroyo of Encarnación because of the lack of firewood, but went on about another league to another good arroyo of good water, which has a great deal of firewood from oaks and live oaks. We halted on its bank, and I called it San Francisco de Paula; we traveled this day ten leagues.

Friday, April 3.—At six in the morning we set out from the arroyo of San Francisco de Paula, following the course of the valley in the direction of the south-southeast. The valley is full of oaks, and we traveled by it for seven hours, marching rapidly, during which we must have made nine leagues. We reached the pass in the low hills which are mentioned in the diary, and which enclose half of the valley which they border; it was called in the diary San Bernardino. We halted on the bank of a good arroyo of running water which has plenty of firewood; on reaching the camping place we saw a band of sixteen antelopes together.

Saturday, April 4.—We set out about six in the morning from the arroyo of the pass in the hills which separate the valley of the arroyo of the live oaks of the bay from that of San Bernardino. The pass once ascended, we followed the valley of San Bernardino for some seven or eight leagues. Continuing for two leagues more, on the same road by which we came, we arrived at the arroyo of the valley of San Benito, on the bank of which we halted, having traveled about ten leagues. This arroyo is at the foot of a very high mountain range.

April 5, Passion Sunday.—After having said Mass we set out about half-past seven, taking the road to the south. In two leagues we entered the valley of Santa Delfina, and went from north-northwest to the south-southeast. After traveling four leagues by the plain we came to the Santa Delfina River, and in a few more leagues of travel arrived at the royal presidio of Monterey, the day's march being ten leagues. According to the reckonings, the return journey from the last point reached was fifty-seven leagues, while the up trip covered seventy-one, so that we cut off fourteen leagues.*

This same afternoon I left the presidio and went to the mission of San Carlos de Carmelo, where I

* Retracing their old course, on April 3 camp was made at the spur of hills near San Martin. Near there is the watershed between Coyote Creek and Pájaro River, hence "the hills which separate the valley of the arroyo of the live oaks of the bay from that of San Bernardino (Gilroy)." On the 4th camp was made near San Juan Mission.

found my venerated and esteemed father prior and president, Fray Junípero Serra, in the same state of health as before. After receiving his blessing I told him about the journey and what we had discovered, and delivered this diary to him, so that he might decide what he judged to be best for the greater glory of God, to whom I humbly offer these labors on these roads, so that He may deign with His divine grace to enlighten the understandings of all the heathen, that they may be converted to His Holy Faith and reduced to the fold of the Holy Church. Amen.

FRAY JUAN CRESPI.[195]

CHAPTER XXXIV

WHAT WAS DETERMINED BY THE REVEREND FATHER PRESIDENT IN VIEW OF THIS REPORT[196]

After the reverend father president had heard the report concerning the harbor of Our Father San Francisco, and of everything contained in the diary, he saw that it was impossible for the present to found the mission of Our Seraphic Father San Francisco in his own port. For, since the latter was near Point Reyes, according to the relation contained in the diary[197] of the pilot Cabrera Bueno, it was necessary to go to it by sea, crossing from Point Almejas to Point Reyes, and traversing the Gulf of the Farallones; and if it was desired to go by land it would be necessary to make a new exploration, going up the large rivers to look for a ford, it not being known whether they penetrate far inland or where they have their source; and for this a new expedition would be necessary. For this reason his Reverence decided to make a report to his Excellency the Viceroy, so that, in view of the discoveries made in this exploration, his Excellency might decide what he might think best. He did this, but up to the present time nothing has been done in the matter.

At the same time that this exploration was being made, the reverend father president received letters from San Diego and San Gabriel in which they told him of their lack of provisions, for the mission as well as the escort, and that there was danger of abandoning the mission and port of San Diego; and also that Father Fray Pedro Cambón, minister of the mission of San Gabriel, had gone away sick to California, accompanied by the father prior Fray Francisco Dumetz, minister of the mission of San Diego, intending to bring on their return[198] all the help possible, saying that in the meantime there were left in San Diego only the father preacher Fray Luís Jayme, and that the other minister of San Gabriel, Fray Angel Somera, also being ill, desired to go to California to recuperate.

In view of this alarming news the reverend father president decided that Father Fray Juan Crespi should go to San Diego to be companion for Father Fray Luís Jayme until Father Dumetz should return; that Father Fray Angel Somera should go to California for a change of climate; and that the mission of San Gabriel should be administered by the two ministers of San Buenaventura, Fray Antonio Paterna and Fray Antonio Cruzado, who were delayed at San Gabriel for lack of soldiers. And in order that some succor might be sent to them he spoke to the captain, and some loads of flour were sent

to enable them to exist until the bark or other aid should arrive from California. This was done, Father Crespi setting out with the pack train escorted by a few soldiers, and by this means they were helped somewhat.

But in a short time it was seen that this flour sent was needed for the maintenance of the royal presidio of Monterey and the two missions of San Carlos and San Antonio; for, since the arrival of the bark was delayed, the captain was compelled to send the greater part of the soldiers (a few remaining in the presidio) to the valley of Los Osos to make a killing of bears, so that they might live on the meat and send some of it to ration the guards of the presidio and the two missions. This in fact was done, the captain himself going in person with the soldiers in the latter part of the month of May. They remained there for three months, eating bear-meat and sending loads of it jerked to the others, at the same time trading with the heathen for seeds, of which they sent on different occasions about twenty-five loads. With this and the meat of the bears which they succeeded in killing, the fathers and soldiers managed to live until the arrival of the barks, both of which, the *Príncipe* and the *San Carlos,* dropped anchor at San Diego, because the storms[199] did not permit them to go up to Monterey in keeping with the orders which they bore.

The news of the coming of these barks reached the royal presidio of Monterey in August. The captain immediately decided to go to San Diego to receive the cargo, and the reverend father volunteered to go with him. So the two agreed to go to San Diego together, and in view of the fact that the aid had now arrived, the father president decided to found, in passing, the mission of San Luís Obispo de Tolosa, in the valley of Los Osos, which was the place designated for that mission.[200]

CHAPTER XXXV

THE MISSION OF SAN LUÍS OBISPO IS FOUNDED, AND THE REVEREND FATHER PRESIDENT GOES TO THE MISSION AND PORT OF SAN DIEGO[201]

It has already been said in the preceding chapters that the mission of San Luís, which was to be founded in the valley of Los Osos, territory of Chief Buchón, was delayed because of the lack of soldiers, and afterwards because of the lack of provisions. But when the news came of the arrival of the barks loaded with provisions, and the good reports, given by the soldiers who took part in the killing of the bears, of the docility of the heathen of the villages in the valley of Los Osos and its vicinity, and the affection which they showed towards our people, the reverend father president decided to go and found that mission, although for the present the guard would be small, because some soldiers would have to go to San Diego to escort the pack train back, but as soon as this journey should be concluded the number of soldiers could be increased. He spoke of the matter to the captain and he agreed to it, but, as it was impossible

to leave the mission of Carmelo without a missionary, or the royal presidio without a priest to say Mass there on feast days, he decided that one of the missionaries destined for San Luís should go to take part in the founding; that one should remain to administer the mission of Carmelo; and that one should come from the mission of San Antonio to say Mass at the presidio. He explained that this solitude would not last long, for as soon as his Reverence should reach San Diego Father Fray Juan Crespi would return from there, and perhaps he was already on the road, in case Father Dumetz had returned from California.

In accordance with this decision the reverend father president set out with Father Prior José Caballer for that founding, Father Fray Domingo Juncosa and Father Fray Miguel Pieras remaining to care for the mission of San Carlos and the presidio. By means of the pack train that was going to San Diego[202] to bring provisions, he took the vestments and utensils for church, house, and field pertaining to the mission of San Luís. The captain also set out with the soldiers who were to remain at the new mission and those who were to go on to San Diego.

They reached the neighborhood of the valley of Los Osos, and after examining the place the father president determined to found the mission about half a league before reaching the valley of

Mission San Luís Obispo de Tolosa.

From a nineteenth century painting.

Los Osos, although in sight of it, and in the plain of the valley. This place seemed to everybody to be more suitable for the mission on account of having two small arroyos of water, with plenty of land which could be irrigated with a little labor. Choice was made of a site for the mission on the summit of a low hill, on the skirts of which run the two arroyos. The Holy Cross was made, and a temporary shelter of branches was erected for a chapel. After the benediction and the holy ceremonies customarily used by our Holy Mother Church, the standard of our redemption was erected, and on the first day of September of the year 1772, the first Mass was celebrated and sung by the reverend father president at the altar set up in the arbor, thus making a beginning of the mission dedicated to San Luís Obispo de Tolosa. To Father Prior José Caballer he entrusted the administration and all the utensils of house and field belonging to that mission.[203]

As guard for the mission the captain left two of the leather-jacket soldiers, one with the office of corporal, and three of the volunteer Catalonian soldiers. In addition to those there remained two neophyte Indians from California, who were assigned by the reverend father president so that work on the dwelling and chapel might be begun. For the support of the missionary father, the five soldiers, and the two

Indians, the captain left two arrobas of flour, half a tierce of wheat, a box of panocha, and another with four and a half arrobas of ordinary chocolate, it being agreed that he would send the pack train from San Diego with more provisions, and that upon his return the guard would be increased.

With this small number of men the father set to work, building a two-room dwelling of wood, with a tule roof, another house of the same materials for the soldiers, and a chapel, also of the same materials, to serve as a church. Afterwards he went on little by little adding more rooms for workshop and granary. At the site or place where the mission was founded there was no permanent village of heathen. But, attracted by the news, they came. From the very first they began to visit the father and the mission, and in a short time they were persuaded to offer their children to the missionary father to be baptized. As soon as the mission was begun the reverend father president set out from it for San Diego with the captain. This was on the second of September.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE REVEREND FATHER PRESIDENT ARRIVES AT SAN DIEGO WITH THE INTENTION OF FOUNDING THE MISSION OF SAN BUENAVENTURA, BUT IT IS NOT DONE ON ACCOUNT OF THE CAPTAIN; AND THE FATHER DECIDES TO GO TO MEXICO TO SOLICIT BETTER MEASURES FOR THE MISSIONS AND THE REDUCTIONS

The urgency which compelled the captain to hurry to San Diego to receive the loads and despatch the barks made it impossible for the reverend father president to remain a few days at the new mission of San Luís. In order not to lose the opportunity to go he left it on the second of September, the day after its founding, in company with the captain and the soldiers of the escort. On the eleventh he arrived at the mission of San Gabriel, where he had the pleasure of seeing the fathers and visiting that mission, which had been founded for a year though he had not yet seen it. He was able to remain there only two days, because of the haste, so he left on the thirteenth, arriving at San Diego in perfect safety on the sixteenth. There he

found Father Dumetz, who had already returned from California with some provisions and some sheep and goats for the mission of San Diego. He found also Father Fray Tomás de la Peña, whom I had sent in place of Father Cambón,[204] who had gone away sick. In this way it was possible to arrange that Father Peña[205] should remain as minister in San Diego and that fathers Crespi and Dumetz should go to Monterey, so that the two who had supplied their places might go to their missions of San Antonio and San Luís.

As soon as the captain arrived at San Diego he set about unloading the packet *San Carlos,* and immediately ordered the pack train loaded with provisions and sent to relieve the last three missions and the royal presidio of Monterey. In fact, it left San Diego loaded on the twenty-seventh of the same month of September, and with it Fray Juan Crespi set out for the mission of San Carlos. In view of the lack of mules to transport it by land, Captain Don Pedro Fages ordered, in agreement with the captain of the packet *San Antonio,* that the vessel should go with the cargo to Monterey, and that the other packet should sail for San Blas.

As soon as the reverend father president and the captain found themselves unoccupied, they took up the matter of the mission of San Buenaventura, for which purpose they had examined, in passing along the channel of Santa Bárbara,

the site of Asumpta, which suited them both for that mission. They discussed the number of soldiers that would have to remain and the manner in which the mission was to be run, for the captain had now thrust himself into the government of the missions, and he insisted that he and not the fathers had full authority.

On this account the missions, instead of making progress, were being hindered, and if this state of affairs were to continue the reduction would become impossible. Seeing this, the father president, moved by zeal for the conversion of souls, decided to go to Mexico and try to obtain from his Excellency better measures for the welfare of the reductions, now that the captain accomplished nothing but interference and annoyances, a sorrow to the religious and of no benefit to the missions. His Reverence wrote me to this effect on the seventeenth of October, informing me of his departure for Mexico.

He embarked on the nineteenth of the same month of October, and after a voyage of fifteen days arrived safely at San Blas. From the hospice of Santa Cruz de Tepic he wrote me of his safe arrival there on the tenth of November, telling me that on the following day he was leaving for Mexico, not having had the slightest injury to his health. But on arriving at the city of Guadalaxara he fell ill of a violent fever which brought him near death, and he received

the sacraments at the convent of our Father San Francisco. It was God's will that he should improve, and he went on his way, but he had a relapse at the College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro, growing so much worse that they talked of giving him the sacraments again, but, even though he was now at the advanced age of sixty years, and so overworked, God saved his life so that he might reach Mexico for the holy purpose which had brought him so far.

He arrived, thanks to God, at the College of San Fernando de Mexico on the sixth[206] of February, and as soon as he had obtained permission from the reverend father guardian he went to see his Excellency, who gave him an audience, listened to him, and told him that he would hold a special council to consider the matter, at which the father president must be present, and that he might present before it everything that he thought best for the good of the new missions and the conquest of Monterey. Although I have private information that this council was held and that a prolix representation was read in it by the reverend father president, Fray Junípero Serra, I have not as yet any detailed information of the contents of that representation, nor of what was decided in the royal council, and I therefore reserve setting it down until certain information comes, with the original documents.

As soon as the packet *San Carlos* sailed for San Blas, the *San Antonio* also sailed for Monterey to leave the cargo and return to San Blas. The captain went by land to receive it, and the father preacher Fray Francisco Dumetz went up by land to his destination at the mission of San Carlos de Monterey, to be companion for Father Fray Juan Crespi.

On account of the departure of Father Fray Angel Somera for California, of which I have already spoken, the reverend father president wrote to me at Loreto to ask for two friars for the mission of San Buenaventura, and I sent them at once. They were the father preachers Fray Ramón Ussón and Fray Juan Figuer, who, as I said in Part One, were named by the venerable Discretory to come to the new missions. They arrived at San Diego in the early part of November of the same year of 1772, proving that it has never been for lack of friars that the founding of any of these[207] has been delayed. Even though the friars had not arrived, he expected them momentarily, and had already directed Father Dumetz to go to San Buenaventura, in case the captain should provide the number of soldiers that were needed; but, as he did not condescend to do this the founding was lost or delayed because of that captain.[208]

EDITORIAL NOTES

EDITORIAL NOTES

[1] For the preparation of the San Diego expedition down to the sailing of the *San Carlos,* January 15, 1769, see the following unpublished letters: Croix to Julián de Arriaga, Mexico, May 28 (Gálvez has decided to send an expedition to occupy Monterey); Gálvez to Serra, Santa Ana, August 13, 1768; Gálvez to Serra, undated (plans to establish a cordon of missions from Santa María all the way to Monterey; five will suffice. "If this plan of mine should seem to your Reverence somewhat extreme, do not hesitate to tell me frankly . . . and lay all the blame to my lively desires, and to a temperament which does not permit me to do things by halves"); Gálvez to Rivera y Moncada, Santa Ana, August 20, 1768, appointing Rivera second-in-command, and transmitting instructions; instructions for the land journey to Monterey, same to same, same place and date, with postscript dated La Paz, April 4, 1769; Gálvez to Serra, Santa Ana, September 15, 1768 (asks Serra to name a friar for the sea voyage; plans for the "intermedial missions"; vestments; names for the new missions; begs Serra not to make the hard journey to La Paz, but will meet him at Loreto); Gálvez to Serra, Santa Ana, October 7, 1768 (asks Serra to aid Rivera in preparation by furnishing stock and provisions from the missions; he has sent supplies by sloop to Mission Santa María; is awaiting the arrival of the packets for the expedition; now consents to Serra's going south to meet him; recounts what has been done regarding vestments for the new missions); Julián de Arriaga to Croix, San Lorenzo, Spain, October 18, 1768; Gálvez to Serra, La Paz, November 12, 1768; Gálvez to missionaries of California, November 21, 1768; Gálvez to Serra, La Paz, December 28, 1768 (the careening of the *San Carlos* has been completed; will sail ahead of *El Príncipe;* chart of the officers and crew of the packet *San Joseph,* alias *El Descubridor*); Miguel Costansó to Croix, La Paz, January 1, 1769 (ready to sail for Monterey); Pedro Fages to Croix, La Paz, January 4, 1769 (ready to sail for Monterey); Gálvez to Palóu, La Paz, January 9, 1769 (is sending instructions to Rivera in haste—please hurry them to him). See also materials listed in Volume I, Notes 19 and 22, where some of the same documents are cited for affairs on the Peninsula.

The preparation and the execution of the Alta California expeditions of 1769–1770 are set forth in Bancroft, *History of California,* I, chapters IV–VII; Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California,* II, chapters I–V; Chapman, *The Founding of Spanish California,* chapter IV; Chapman, *History of California: the Spanish Period,* chapters XVI–XVII; Richman, *California Under Spain and Mexico,* chapter V; Hittell, *History of California,* I, 306–337.

[2] The sailing of the *San Carlos* and the *San Antonio* is treated in the *Vida,* chapters XIII and XIV.

[3] Gálvez's instructions to Rivera, dated August 20, 1768, are cited in Note 1, above. The supplies gathered by Rivera are listed in Volume I, 50–52.

[4] The equipment taken for the churches of the missions by Gálvez is listed in Volume I, 53–65. See also Serra's *Diary,* entries for the first part of his journey.

[5] See Gálvez to the missionaries, November 21, 1768, cited in Note 1, above.

[6] The sailing of the *San Antonio* and preparations for the California expeditions after the departure of the *San Carlos* (January 15, 1769), down to May 1, when Gálvez left the Peninsula, are set forth in the following correspondence: Gálvez to Serra, San Lucas, January 26, 1769; Gálvez to Palóu, San Lucas, February 20, 1769 (Gálvez is sending additional instructions to Rivera, to be forwarded to him by Palóu; hasten them along); instructions to Portolá for the second land expedition, issued by Gálvez, San Lucas, February 20, 1769 (twelve numbered paragraphs); Gálvez to Serra, San Lucas, February 22, 1769 (the *San Joseph* is to sail in May; more church ornaments for the missions have been acquired); Croix to Costansó, Mexico, March 11, 1769; Croix to Fages, Mexico, March 11, 1769; Croix to Julián de Arriaga, transmitting last despatches to Gálvez, Mexico, March 17, 1769; Gálvez to Serra, La Paz, March 28, 1769 (Gálvez regrets Rivera's delay in getting started; Palóu must remain at Loreto to aid in business affairs); Gálvez to Serra, La Paz, March 28, 1769 (Gálvez will insist that Palóu shall remain at San Xavier); Gálvez to Croix, La Paz, April 4, 1769 (Portolá left Loreto March 8; reports of the vessels on the coast; encloses copies of instructions to Rivera and Portolá); Gálvez to Palóu, La Paz, April 10, 1769 (Palóu has written that Serra has started north, "his leg somewhat improved"; Gálvez plans going to Loreto). See also materials listed in Volume I, Note 22, where some of the same documents are cited for events on the Peninsula.

[7] M. and D. change "especial" to "la menor."

[8] M. and D. change "su caridad" to "diligente," giving a different meaning here.

[9] For the voyage of the *San Carlos*, see *Diario de Navegación del Paquebot de S. M. Nombrado el San Carlos alias El Toyson*, etc., January 9 to May 12, 1769, and return, August 1 to August 24, 1770. Spanish text, and translation by Robert Selden Rose, with introductory note by F. J. Teggart (Academy of Pacific Coast History, *Publications*, II, 1–119. University of California, 1911). This translation was made from a contemporary copy in the Sutro Library, San Francisco, and compared with the Bancroft Library transcript of the copy preserved in Madrid in the Depósito Hidrográphico. For diaries of the *San Antonio*, 1769, see Bolton's *Guide* and Chapman's *Catalogue*.

[10] M. and D. omit "Concepción."

[11] M. and D. omit "que cayó" and thus change the emphasis.

[12] Activities regarding the Monterey expeditions on the Peninsula and in Mexico after Gálvez left Loreto, May 1, 1769, down to November, are set forth in the following unpublished letters: Gálvez to Palóu, Bay of Santa Bárbara, Sonora, May 9, 1769 (urges Palóu to have everything ready for the sailing of the *San Joseph*); Gálvez to Croix, Alamos, August 22, 1769 (Gálvez fears he is dying. As a last request he urges Croix to send enclosed list of supplies to San Diego on *El Príncipe*, and a double crew for the *San Carlos*); Gálvez to Croix, Alamos, August 22, 1769 (memorandum of supplies needed for San Diego. Enclosed with the foregoing); Gálvez to Croix, Alamos, August 29, 1769 (enclosing a summarized account of equipment of the Monterey expeditions); Gálvez to Palóu, Alamos, September 3, 1769 (is sending supplies for the new missions; anxious for the success of the Monterey expeditions); Croix to Arriaga, Mexico, September 27, 1769 (sends letters of Gálvez and a map of the California coast); Francisco Trillo y Vermúdez to Croix, San Blas, October 17, 1769 (is preparing *El Príncipe* to take supplies to San Diego); Croix to Trillo, November 13, 1769 (hurry *El Príncipe's* preparations). In a letter to Arriaga, Mexico, January 30, 1770, Croix encloses nine memoranda of supplies sent from San Blas to San Diego and Monterey. The receipts are signed by Juan Pérez on board the *San Antonio* and Jorge Storace on board the *San Joseph*.

[13] The first land expedition to San Diego is treated in Palóu's *Vida* in chapter XII. Besides the Crespi diary of this journey, we have the diary of José de Cañizares, "Diario Executado por Tierra

desde el paraxe de Villa cata á este Puerto de San Diego,'' etc., March 24, 1769–July 3, 1769 (A.G.I. 104–3–3, transcript in the Bancroft Library). In general, Crespi and Cañizares agree on the essentials. Distances and directions are nearly identical throughout. Emphasis is not always the same with regard to incidents. Their latitudes do not agree, nor are they correct; both are too high, and Cañizares's are generally about 24 minutes higher than Crespi's, and therefore that much more inaccurate. This expedition is summarized in Costansó's *Diario Histórico de las Viages de Mar y Tierra* (Spanish text with English translation by Adolph Van Hemet-Engert and Frederick J. Teggart; Academy of Pacific Coast History, *Publications,* II, 90–159). The experiences of the sea and land journeys are related in numerous letters written from San Diego in the summer of 1769.

[14] Serra's journey to Vellicatá is treated in the *Vida* in chapter XIV. Serra's diary begins with a general account of the dispatching of the *San Carlos* and the *San Antonio,* the collection of animals and provisions by Rivera y Moncada, ''with a somewhat heavy hand,'' and the departure of Portolá from Loreto for Santa María on March 9. Portolá's diary begins May 11. Serra's daily entries begin on March 28, and tell of his journey north from Loreto to join Portolá. The first day he went to Mission San Xavier Biaundó, where he spent three days. ''Reason enough for this detention was the very express and mutual love between myself and its minister,'' namely, his old pupil-friend, Father Palóu, who became president in Serra's absence. It was four years before they again met. Another good reason for the delay was to equip himself for his journey north, for he had left Loreto empty-handed. Starting early on the morning of April 1, by eleven o'clock he had covered the twelve leagues to Mission San Joseph Cumundú. Father Antonio Martínez, who, like Palóu, was an old friend of the President, was absent. On the 2d Serra said Mass and preached. Next day Father Martínez returned and added to Serra's equipment. On the 5th, accompanied by Father Martínez, Serra proceeded, to Purísima, the mission of Father Crespi, who was now on his way to San Diego with Rivera. Here more mule-loads of provisions were acquired through the care of Father Crespi. April 7, at daybreak, Serra set forth on the thirty-league stretch for Guadalupe. Riding ahead of the pack train, he spent the night at The Teasel, where he slept on the ground. While there he fed the starving children of some poor Indians from Mission Guadalupe, and was repaid by their singing, for they had the ''fame of singing with especial sweetness.'' On the 8th Serra, late at night, reached Guada-

lupe, which was the farthest north he had ever been previously. He was now three days ahead of his pack train, to await which, and to transact business, he stopped four days. The missionary, Father Sancho, another old friend, gave him fresh mules for his packs, and a little Indian boy as a servant for the journey, fitted out with a saddle mule and trappings "whereat he was very contented." This boy was killed in the first Indian uprising at San Diego, where he died in Serra's hut. On the 10th Father Gastón, still another old friend, came from Mulegé, off the road, to say goodbye. "So in this and the following days, between the three of us we consoled one another for the parting." The pack train set forth on the 13th. Next day Serra followed. That night he slept in the open, and on the 15th early in the morning he reached San Ignacio, the mission of Father Medina Veitía, who had taken the place of Father Campa, another friend of former days who had gone with Portolá. On the 18th Serra set forth from San Ignacio; he took luncheon in a cave at Magdalena; slept in the open that night and the next; and on the 20th reached Mission Santa Gertrudis, where he was welcomed by Father Basterra, who was nearly dying of lonesomeness, for he had neither soldier nor servant. For these reasons Serra tarried five days, arranging to send some of the neophytes to Purísima. Setting out on the 26th, he reached San Borja on the 28th, welcomed by Father Lasuén. "Out of special affection for the minister I tarried the next two days," he tells us. On May 1 he set forth again, and on the 5th reached Santa María, where he joined Portolá's party (*Diary of Junípero Serra: Loreto to San Diego, March 28–June 30, 1769*. Translation by Chas. F. Lummis, from the holograph diary in the Ayer Collection. *Out West*, Vols. XVI and XVII).

[15] M. and D. add "propio," slightly changing the sense.

[16] The founding of Mission San Fernando de Vellicatá is treated in Palóu's *Vida*, chapter XV. Serra's diary gives first-hand details. On May 6, while the men were transporting from San Luís Gonzaga Bay supplies for the expedition, shipped thither by water, and arranging harnesses for the pack mules, Portolá and Serra inspected Mission Santa María. As a result they decided not to abandon it, as had been planned. On the 7th Serra inspected a new and shorter road to the beach of San Luís. On the 11th they set forth for Vellicatá (Portolá's diary begins here). Traveling ahead of the pack train Portolá, Serra, and Campa reached Vellicatá on May 13. Next day with great ceremony the mission of San Fernando de Vellicatá was formally founded. On the 15th the pack train arrived. On the 16th, leaving Father Campa in charge of the mission, Portolá,

Serra, and the pack train set forth. The leading incidents of this journey are recounted in Crespi's diary of the first expedition, which he supplements with extracts from Serra.

[17] The Figueroa MS. here by a slip reads "quarenta" in place of "cuarenta y cuatro" as M. and D. have it. In the preceding paragraph they both give the number of Indians as forty-four. In a letter to Palóu, Crespi wrote that thirteen of them reached San Diego on the first expedition (Crespi to Palóu, San Diego, June 9, 1769).

[18] For accounts of the second land expedition from Vellicatá to San Diego see: 1. *The Diary of Junípero Serra,* already cited (Note 14). 2. Portolá, Gaspar, *Diario del Viage que haze por tierra D. Gaspar de Portolá,* 1769–1770 (Spanish text with translation by Donald Eugene Smith and Frederick J. Teggart; Academy of Pacific Coast History *Publications,* I, 31–89). This diary renders "arroyo" as "gully" and "cañada" as "cañon," neither of which is good. For example, it makes a "cañon" of Santa Clara Valley, which is twenty miles wide. An arroyo was generally a small stream bed, and "cañada" in the diaries generally means "valley." 3. Costansó, Miguel, *Diario Histórico de los Viages de Mar y Tierra hechos al Norte de la California.* Signed at Mexico October 24, 1770 (Spanish text and English translation by Adolph Van Hemert-Engert and Friedrick J. Teggart; Academy of Pacific Coast History *Publications,* I, 91–169). This narrative covers both sea and land expeditions of 1769–1770. Earlier translations were published by Dalyrimple and Lummis. This journey to San Diego is treated in Palóu's *Vida,* chapters XV and XVI. In the latter chapter a letter by Serra dated at San Diego July 3, 1769, is printed.

[19] M. and D. add "este es el."

[20] M. and D. read "parages distantes" instead of "parages importantes."

[21] M. and D. read "nordoeste" instead of "nordeste."

[22] In this paragraph M. and D. omit "Sábado de Gloria" from the first line; read "nordoeste" for "nor-noroeste" in the third line; and omit from the next to the last sentence "en el qual paramos el Real a las doce y media."

[23] M. and D. omit "Pasqua de Resurección" here; "Segundo de Pasqua" in the entry for the 27th; "Tercera fiesta de Pasqua" in the entry for the 28th, and "Dominica in Albis" in the entry for April 2.

[24] D. reads "los" for "dos."

[25] M. and D. describe this arroyo as "frondoso" or "leafy." At the end of the next paragraph they omit two lines, so that the passage mentions three instead of four arroyos.

[26] M. and D. omit "Domingo segundo de Pasqua" from the first line of this paragraph and "de buena mañana" from the third line.

[27] "Al oueste-sudoeste" is supplied by M. and D.

[28] M. and D. omit "de cerros."

[29] M. and D. read "corales" for "caracoles."

[30] There is a discrepancy between this figure and that given in the last sentence of this day's entry.

[31] In this paragraph M. and D. omit "Domingo tercero despues de Pasqua" from the first line, and in the fourth line they read "nordoeste" for "nor-nordeste."

[32] M. and D. read "pasar" for "bailar."

[33] M. and D. read "tres" for "quatro." Cañizares reads "quatro."

[34] M. and D. omit "Domingo quarto de Pasqua."

[35] D. reads "nordoeste" for "nordeste." Cañizares reads "nordeste."

[36] M. and D. read "tierra" for "sierra."

[37] D. omits "seco."

[38] M. and D. read "tal vez" for "sin duda."

[39] M. and D. add "a cuyo alrededor."

[40] M. and D. change nearly every phrase in the next ten lines, without essentially changing the meaning.

[41] M. and D. change "parados" to "separados."

[42] M. and D. read "pintaron" for "juntaron."

[43] The Figueroa MS. reads "con" where M. and D. reads "a la cabeza." A better rendering would be simply "with."

[44] M. and D. read "individuos" for "Indios."

[45] M. and D. read "puesto" for "puerto" here. For experiences on the expedition to San Diego, and at that place before the arrival of the Portolá-Serra party on July 1, see the following documents: Crespi to Palóu, San Diego, June 9, 1769 (summarizes the journey of the first land expedition; describes the inroads of scurvy among the crews of the vessels; the *Príncipe* is going back to San Blas to report; chances for going on to Monterey are dubious; San Diego River has been explored; describes the harbor and the natives; de-

scribes the hardships of the land journey, especially from hunger; complains of Rivera; Rivera insisted on staying in the mountains instead of traveling by the beach; he insisted on traveling too slowly; describes the good sites on the way); Crespi to the Guardian of the College of San Fernando, Fray Juan Andrés, San Diego, June 22, 1769 (describes the journey; the ravages of scurvy among the sea parties; natives and country along the route, the harbor, River San Diego, opportunities for a mission; anxiously awaiting Serra's arrival; asks that his friend Father Cruzado may be sent; more than three missions will be necessary; he needs a new habit, his old one having become completely worn out on the journey; needs some handkerchiefs). Pedro Fages to Gálvez, San Diego, June 26, 1769 (is sending a box of Indian relics from the neighborhood of San Diego, including baskets, hats, fish nets, feather head dresses of chief, etc.); Costansó to Gálvez, San Diego, June 28, 1769 (describes ministrations to the sick sailors and soldiers, the making of camp, surveys, observations, etc.; old maps put San Diego too far north; describes the harbor; encloses a sketch; comments on the natives; they have taken a great liking to Fages, who demonstrated to them the value of firearms; exploration of San Diego River).

See also the following letters from San Diego after the arrival of Portolá and Serra, July 1, 1769: Fages to Gálvez, July 4, 1769 (reviews the sea expeditions; the first land expedition; the arrival of Portolá and Serra; Portolá's anxiety to push on by sea to Monterey; Vila thinks it impossible; Portolá has decided to go by land; plans for the journey; hopes the *San Joseph* will soon arrive); Portolá to Croix, San Diego, July 4, 1769 (reviews his land journey; conditions at San Diego; plans for going on to Monterey); Croix to Portolá, August 12, 1769 (has received Portolá's letter of July 4; approves plan to go by land to Monterey; is ordering haste in sending the *San Joseph*); Croix to home government, undated (summarizes reports of the San Diego expeditions). Fragments of letters by Serra from San Diego, July 3, 1769 (two letters); February 10, 1770 (describes the Indian attack, very graphically). See also Serra's letter of July 3 printed in Palóu's *Vida*, chapter XVI; Vicente Vila, San Diego, July 6, 1769 (transmitting his diary; conditions at San Diego: plans for going to Monterey); Vicente Vila, "Succinct Relation" of the voyage of the *San Carlos*, January 11 to April 29, 1769, with letter of July 6, 1769 (with lists of crew of *San Carlos* and of the Leather-jacket Company).

[46] In this sentence M. and D. read "6" in place of "9."

[47] M. and D. omit "de la misión."

[48] Besides Crespi's diary, the journals of Portolá and Costansó cited in Note 18 give first hand accounts of the Portolá expedition from San Diego to San Francisco Bay and return. In both translations cited the rendering of "cañada" as "cañon" is very misleading in the identification of the route. Contemporary correspondence telling of the expedition after it was over is cited in Note 45. Palóu briefly summarizes the expedition in the *Vida*, chapter XVIII. See also Note 140.

[49] M. and D. omit "encinos, por los gentiles de la ranchería antecedente entendimos."

[50] D. changes "traian" to "tenian."

[51] M. and D. change "pastos" to "tierras."

[52] M. and D. change "encontramos" to "enseñaron."

[53] Figueroa reads "Martes" where "Miercoles" is clearly intended. So, also, does M. Doyle corrected the slip.

[54] For "puerto" M. reads "puente" and D. reads "monte."

[55] The phrasing of the texts varies slightly here.

[56] M. and D. omit "lomas."

[57] M. and D. read "no alcanzabamos" instead of "no percibian los ojos."

[58] M. and D. read "seis" instead of "treinta y seis."

[59] M. and D. read "sesenta" in place of "setenta."

[60] M. and D. read "norte" instead of "oeste."

[61] M. and D. read "norte" instead of "oeste."

[62] M. and D. omit four lines here: "Paramos el real junto á la sanja de agua corriente, cubiertas sus orillas de berros de que comimos. Se nombró este valle San Miguel Arcángel, que dista este parage del antecedente como quatro leguas."

[63] M. and D. add "con el Sr. Constanzó."

[64] M. and D. read "parabamos" instead of "pasavamos."

[65] D. reads "acaban" for "secavan."

[66] M. and D. read "subordinado" instead of "coordinado."

[67] D. reads "agilidad" instead of "habilidad."

[68] M. and D. read "airosas" in place of "curiosas."

[69] M. and D. read "recien llegados" instead of "que vinieron."

[70] M. and D. read "durante ella" for "toda ella."

[71] M. and D. read "tlatemado" instead of "tatemado."

[72] M. and D. read "hacia" for "assi," without changing the meaning essentially.

[73] M. and D. read "en la condición de que se irian" instead of "instandoles que se fuesen."

[74] M. and D. suggest "coras" for "cosas," and I have adopted this reading.

[75] M. and D. omit "hasta el parage."

[76] M. and D. change "sierra" to "tierra."

[77] M. and D. change "sierra" to "tierra."

[78] M. and D. add "á mí me salió treinta y cuatro grados cincuenta minutos y medio." I have adopted this reading.

[79] A gap in the MS. M. and D. supply it with "algo extraños," which at least makes sense.

[80] M. and D. change "laguna" to "paraje."

[81] M. and D. omit here "a una cañada de buenas tierras mui empastadas, y seguimos por lomas, y a las quatro horas de camino en que andariamos tres leguas y media baxamos."

[82] M. and D. read "34" instead of "35." Doyle noted the apparent error (*Noticias,* II, 156).

[83] All three texts read "legua," but I suspect that "lengua" was intended.

[84] M. and D. change "dediqué" to "designé."

[85] M. and D. omit "y esto obligó a alargar la jornada hasta un arroyo de buena agua que hallamos una legua mas abajo, y paramos en sus orillas."

[86] M. and D. omit "pero mui abastecida de aguas."

[87] The Figueroa MS. reads "forty" instead of "ten" minutes. There evidently has been an error in copying.

[88] M. and D. change "paso" to "para."

[89] D. reads "hemos subido" for "hemos de subir."

[90] M. and D. vary the phrasing here somewhat, without change of sense.

[91] A gap in the manuscript occurs between "agra" and "chería." M. suggests "agra [decidos los de esta ran]chería." He evidently did not note that entries are lacking for September 22, 23, and 24. The "agra" occurs in the entry for September 21, while the "chería" belongs in the last sentence of the entry for September 24. I have supplied the gap from Costansó's diary. See this volume, p. 183, *footnote.*

[92] M. and D. change "vamos" to "ibamos."

[93] D. omits "no," giving a directly opposite meaning.

[94] Figueroa, M. and D. read "arrobas" where Costansó has "libros" (pounds). Ten arrobas would be two hundred and fifty pounds, which would make a real "fish story." I have adopted "pounds."

[95] M. and D. read "por lo que luego" in place of "y ahora."

[96] "y la de Año Nuevo" has been supplied from Doyle.

[97] M. and D. omit "Oida la propuesta del comandante."

[98] M. and D. write "hundida" for "endida," making very different sense.

[99] M. and D. omit "todas de punta."

[100] M. and D. write "nordueste" for "nor-norueste."

[101] M. and D. supply "dos," omitted by Figueroa.

[102] M. and D. read "La Grulla" for "Las Grullas."

[103] M. and D. read "treinta y cuatro" for "treinta y siete."

[104] M. and D. omit "en sus caxas."

[105] This is a misprint. Figueroa reads "nordeste," and M. and D. "nor-nordeste."

[106] D. makes the following note: "There is evidently a typographical error in this sentence; it should probably read . . . 'cosa de una legua; de aqui corre la costa al Oeste," etc. The Figueroa MS. does not bear him out.

[107] The phrasing of the texts varies slightly here.

[108] M. and D. read "fueron" instead of "vinieron."

[109] M. and D. insert "dos" where the number is lacking in the MS.

[110] M. and D. read "advertimos" instead of "reparé."

[111] M. and D. read "con notable mejoría" for "con mejoría."

[112] M. and D. read "un continuo quejido," instead of "un continuo háy."

[113] M. and D. read "recien" for "aun."

[114] Palóu's reference is to Joseph González Cabrera Bueno, *Navegación Especulativa y Practica*, p. 303 (Manila, 1734).

[115] A misprint here. All the texts agree on "sur y sur-sudoeste."

[116] D. omits "mas que todo por."

[117] M. and D. add "y solos."

118 M. and D. add "puntos."

119 M. and D. change "sudeste" to "sudoeste."

120 M. and D. add "en" and change the paragraphing, thus changing the meaning.

121 M. and D. omit "Purísima."

122 Doyle's conjecture here is correct. The MS. reads "siete" instead of "seis." (See Doyle, II, 223 *footnote.*)

123 M. and D. change "nordeste" to "nordoeste."

124 Figueroa, M., and D. all read "Pueblo Caido" for "Palo Caido" here.

125 "Ensenada de la Punta de los Pinos."

126 M. and D. add "deseado."

127 D. reads "tramo" in place of "ramo."

128 M. and D. add "luego."

129 M. and D. add "casi."

130 M. and D. add "y variado."

131 D. reads "doblado" for "poblado."

132 "Vadeamos el río de San Hipólito" is omitted by M. and D.

133 "Nos hallamos en otra Cañada muy vistosa, cubierta de pastos, y Encinos."

134 M. and D. read "mescales ademadas." The MS. has "mescales, Ademas." "Ademas" may be intended for "tatemadas," as rendered here.

135 M. and D. read "nordoeste" for "nordeste."

136 Twice in this paragraph and once in the next M. and D. change "sueste" to "sudoeste."

137 M. and D. add "buena."

138 M. and D. add "largas."

139 M. and D. read "Margarita" in place of "Magdalena."

140 For personal experiences during the first expedition to Monterey see the following letters: Crespi to Palóu, San Diego, February 6, 1770 (he has just returned from the search for Monterey; summarizes the journey, July 14 to January 14; could not find the harbor of Monterey; San Francisco is a very noble harbor; "Monterey has been lost or the land swallowed up"; points of interest along the way, and the fine "inner" Bay of San Francisco; suitable spots for missions; scurvy on the way; the Indian uprising at San Diego); Costansó to Gálvez, San Diego, February 7, 1770 (transmitting his diary; forced to write on "Holland linen paper"); Fages and Costansó to Gálvez, San Diego, February 7, 1770 (two letters; during the Monterey expedition there were "certain arguments and dis-

putes''; being involved they are now ''back-firing''); Fages and Costansó to Croix, San Diego, February 7, 1770 (telling of the return from the search for Monterey); Fages to Croix, San Diego, February 8, 1770; same to same, same date (is sending a box of Indian curios); same to same, same date (conditions at San Diego); Joseph Francisco de Ortega to Paloú, San Diego, February 9, 1770 (summarizes the journey to Monterey; describes San Francisco Bay; gives a list of latitudes; describes natives; the massacre at San Diego); Ortega to Palóu, Loreto, February 9, 1770 (expedition to Monterey); Crespi to Gálvez, San Diego, February 9, 1770 (summarizing the Monterey expedition; a very colorful account); Portolá to Croix, San Diego, February 11, 1770 (the expedition to Monterey; shortage of food at San Diego; list of provisions there, July 12, July 13, 1769, January 28, 1770, February 9, 1770); Rivera y Moncada to Joaquín Velásquez, San Borja, March 24, 1770 (tells of expedition to Monterey); Fages to Croix, San Diego, April 13, 1770; Fages and Costansó to Croix, San Diego, April 14, 1770 (welcome arrival of *El Príncipe*); Portolá to Croix, San Diego, April 17, 1770 (joyful news of arrival of *El Príncipe*; plenty of supplies now; agreement with Pérez for new Monterey expedition; may occupy San Francisco Bay instead; San Diego has been fortified and the mission moved); Croix to Arriaga, May 2, 1770 (reports results of the first land expedition to Monterey); Croix to the King, Mexico, May 4, 1770 (reports results of the expedition to Monterey, news of which came by extraordinary courier, arriving April 24; affairs at San Diego; encloses letters of Fages, Costansó, and Portolá from San Diego, cited above); Antonio López de Toledo to Manuel Espinosa, Loreto, June 6, 1770 (relief for San Diego by *El Príncipe* and Rivera's party).

141 For events discussed in this chapter see the *Vida,* chapter XVIII.

142 The supplies were assembled at Loreto. Fourteen lines below, Figueroa states that the mules were sent from ''Loreto,'' where M. and D. read ''San Diego.'' I have adopted this reading.

143 For the founding of Mission San Diego see also the *Vida,* chapter XVII, where the fortunes of the mission are covered down to the martyrdom of Fray Luís Jayme in 1775. In chapter XIX the *Vida* quotes a letter from Serra to Palóu, dated at San Diego, February 10, 1770, which gives added details. In chapter XX Palóu tells of Serra's efforts to prevent the abandonment of San Diego after the return of Portolá from Monterey.

144 M. and D. change ''desde el año de—'' to ''tiempo hacia.'' I have supplied ''1602,'' which the MS. lacks.

145 M. and D. change "de marineros" to "de los buques."

146 M. and D. change "que fué" to "precisamente."

147 M. and D. read "nuestros" for "muertos."

148 M. and D. change "poder de las armas" to "grande ventaja de nuestras armas."

149 M. and D. omit "los padres hacer todo lo posible para reducirlos y que ya tenian reducidos."

150 For the events of this chapter see the *Vida*, chapter XXI. where a letter from Serra to Palóu, dated at San Diego April 16, 1770, is quoted in full.

151 A blank is left in the MS. for the date.

152 M. and D. add "fin del" and D. writes "1670" instead of "1770."

153 M. and D. change "se discurre se perdería" to "se crée habrá naufragado."

154 D. omits "y de esta manera evitarían el peligro de los gentiles."

155 The ground covered in this chapter and the next three (the second expedition to Monterey and the founding of the Mission and Presidio of San Carlos) is treated in the *Vida* in chapter XXII, where is printed a letter from Serra to Palóu, dated at Monterey, Feast of San Antonio, 1770.

156 M. and D. change "mui bien con ellos" to "eran muy bien vistos de ellos."

157 A gap in the Figueroa MS. here has been supplied by M. and D. by inserting "de que se volvía la expedición." I have followed this reading.

158 M. and D. read "nordoeste" instead of "nor-norueste."

159 D. omits "la playa donde buelta á."

160 The meaning here is that they saw the farallones rather than the Gulf "quite close."

161 Three times in this paragraph and the next M. and D. change "1603" to "1602" and to "1703" respectively.

162 M. and D. change "con los repiques de campanas" to "con fuertes repiques."

163 For the second expedition to Monterey, and the recognition and occupation of the harbor, see the following unpublished manuscripts: Formal Act of Possession of Monterey, June 3, 1770, signed by Portolá; certificates to the same effect by Miguel del Pimo and

Juan Pérez, June 3, and by Pedro Fages, June 11, 1770; Crespi to Father Andrés, the Guardian of San Fernando, Monterey, June 11, 1770 (describes the return journey to Monterey; the search for the cross; the harbor; the formal occupation of June 3; arrival of the *Príncipe* March 19; summary of distances; plans for San Buenaventura; asks for Father Cruzado; "Since we are exiled in another world the letters may perhaps have been lost"; Crespi has trouble with his eyes); Serra to Father Andrés, Monterey, June 12, 1770 (the journey in *El Príncipe*; reached Monterey May 31; land expedition a week ahead of them; mission and presidio founded; ceremony described; things needed; has had no letters for over a year; plans for San Buenaventura; more missionaries needed); Fages and Costansó to Croix, Monterey, June 13, 1770 (tells what has been done there); Fages to Croix, Monterey, June 13, 1770; Portolá to Croix, Monterey, June 15, 1770 (news of the occupation of Monterey; is returning to Mexico to report); Armona to Palóu, Santa Ana, June 19, 1770 (plans for aiding San Diego: "Do not stop at anything"); Armona to officials and missionaries of San Diego, same date (?) (promises more aid); Serra to Sister Antonia Valladolid, Monterey, June 30, 1770 (is living in a log hut, building a church, getting acquainted with Indians); also fragments of letters by Serra from Monterey, June 9, 1770; Fages to Croix, Monterey, July 1, 1770 (warehouses being constructed); four receipts, Fages to Pérez, with lists, Monterey, July 1, 1770; list of hardware made by Chacón for *El Príncipe*, Monterey, July 1, 1770; Fages to Gálvez, Monterey, July 1, 1770 (enclosing six receipts, July 1–3); Serra to Gálvez, Monterey, July 2, 1770 (setting forth needs of Monterey—a long communication); memorandum of things delivered to Father Serra, signed by Fages, Monterey, July 3, 1770; Fages to Gálvez, Monterey, July 3, 1770; Portolá to Croix, San Blas, August 19, 1770 (on his way to Mexico from California; has just landed at San Blas; reports success of the second Monterey expedition; encloses act of possession, cited above); Costansó to Croix, San Blas, August 2, 1770 (reports success of the Monterey expedition; buildings erected there; the missionaries are living in one of the warehouses); Matias de Armona to Gálvez(?), August 2, 1770 (extracts of notices from Monterey, received August 2, 1770; the notices begin with the arrival of the *San Antonio* at San Diego; tell of second land expedition to Monterey); Croix to Portolá, Mexico, August 12, 1770 (reply to letter of August 1); Portolá to Croix, Guadalaxara, August 28, 1770 (reports success of the Monterey expedition; is on his way to Mexico).

Printed accounts are found in the standard works by Bancroft, Hittell, Engelhardt, Chapman, Richman, and Eldredge.

[164] M. and D. omit "como le havia encargado el Ilustrísimo Señor Visitador General que fuese con asignación de dos Patronos; uno de la Misión que havia de ser el Señor San Carlos Borromeo; y el otro de la Iglesia el Santísimo Patriarca Señor San José, y."

[165] For Portolá's request for promotion, his record of services, his appointment to the governorship of Puebla, etc., see the following manuscripts: Croix to home government, Mexico, August 25, 1770 (asking for promotion for the officers of the Monterey expeditions, and enclosing letters from Pedro Fages, July 1, 1770; Portolá, August 1, 1770; Juan Pérez, August 2, 1770; Gálvez, August 25, 1770, etc.); Portolá's service sheet or *Hoja de Servicios*, Mexico, September 30, 1770 (he was then forty-seven years old); petition to his Majesty for promotion, apparently the same date; appointment as governor of Puebla, Aranjuez, June 9, 1776; the Viceroy to Gálvez, now minister of the Indies, Mexico, September 12, 1782; the Viceroy to Gálvez, June 24, 1784, reporting that Portolá has been relieved of his position in Puebla, and ordered to return to Spain "to continue his meritorious career."

[166] M. and D. add "recebido fracaso."

[167] M. and D. read "monarca" for "rey."

[168] The events of this chapter are set forth in the *Vida*, chapter XXIII, where the document here printed is also given in full. Another translation of the document is given in the Academy of Pacific Coast History, *Publications*, I, 15–29.

[169] For the events of this chapter see Palóu's *Vida*, chapters XXIV, XXV, XXVI. The affairs of Alta California or New California for the last months of 1770 are illuminated by the following manuscripts: Joseph Francisco de Ortega, *et al.*, to Matías de Armona, San Diego, September 1, 1770 (asking permission to return to their presidio); the Viceroy to the King, October 28, 1770 (transmitting letter of Jorge Storace to Croix, San Blas, September 12, 1769; sends plans of coast of California, the port of San Diego, and San Pedro Bay); Croix to Pedro Fages, Mexico, November 12, 1770 (acknowledging letters; reporting the sailing of ten more missionaries for California, with provisions, in the *San Antonio;* giving orders concerning the Santa Bárbara Channel Indians, and other California matters); Croix to Palóu, November 12, 1770 (reporting the departure of thirty friars, ten for New and twenty for Old California, and sínodos and endowments assigned); Croix to Palóu, Mexico, November 12, 1770 (charging him to found five missions in New California, and five between Vellicatá and San Diego); Armona to Croix, San Blas, November 15, 1770 (enclosing a request from the soldiers of San

Diego, evidently that of September 1, 1770 *q.v.*); Pedro Fages, "Salida que hizo el Theniente de Voluntarios de Cataluña Dn. Pedro Fages, con seis Soldados y un Harriero," November 21–December 4, 1770 (published with translation by Herbert E. Bolton, Academy of Pacific Coast History *Publications,* Volume 2, No. 3, pp. 141–159); Fray Manuel de la Vega, Comisario-General de Indias, to the guardian of San Fernando, Madrid, December 20, 1770 (has received a memorial concerning needs of California missionaries. The Monterey expedition has been published in the *Gazeta*); "Una Relación embiada de California" (tells of the Monterey expedition; describes California; the Indians tell of a city "adentro," thought to be Gran Quivira. Undated, 1770?); the Viceroy to the King, Mexico, August 26, 1771 (reporting explorations of San Francisco Bay by Fages).

170 "En el día mismo del santo Patrón del Colegio del Señor San Fernando."

171 A space is left in the MS. for the chapter number, which I have filled in.

172 M. and D. change "se puso mano a la fundación" to "se principió desde luego la fundación.

173 For the founding of Mission San Antonio see the *Vida,* chapter XXVII, where its history is carried forward to 1780.

174 D. reads "Fray Juan Crespi y los ministros," omitting "dos."

175 The removal of Mission San Carlos to Carmelo River is treated in the *Vida,* chapter XXVIII.

176 M. and D. add "algunos palos colorados." I have adopted this reading.

177 The founding of Mission San Gabriel is treated in the *Vida,* chapter XXIX, where other details are given, and the story is carried to Palóu's visit there two years after the founding.

178 M. and D. omit "con diez soldados."

179 D. gives June 14th instead of July 14th for the arrival of the *San Antonio,* but gives July 21st for the departure, as does Figueroa. M. agrees with Figueroa.

180 D. writes "hechos" for "ocho."

181 M. and D. omit "en nombre."

182 D. reads "disposiciones" for "indisposiciones."

183 For "mandaron" in the MS. M. and D. suggest "mudaron," which clearly gives the meaning.

184 M. and D. vary the phrasing here without greatly altering the sense.

185 On California missions in 1771 see the following documents: Croix to Fages, Mexico, May 4, 1771 (concerning Fages's promotion); Serra to Croix, Monterey, June 18, 1771 (acknowledging a present of a fine vestment by Croix to Mission San Carlos; report on mission affairs; is going soon to found San Antonio and San Luís Obispo); Fages to Croix, Monterey, June 20, 1771 (reporting his November expedition to San Francisco Bay; inclosing plan of presidio of Monterey); same to same, same date (concerning distribution of troops in California); same to same, same date (Dr. Prat, who is crazy, is returning to San Blas on *El Príncipe*); same to same, same date (various mission affairs); same to same, same date (reporting crops at Monterey); same to same, same date (enclosing receipts for goods furnished missions, signed by Serra, Cruzado, Paterna, and Cambón); Fages to Croix, Monterey, June 23, 1771 (enclosing lists of provisions furnished the soldiers at the missions); Fr. Rafael Verger to Manuel Sanz de Casafonda, Mexico, June 30, 1771 (California is not an earthly Paradise; he deplores the undertaking of too many missions by the College, but the missionaries are powerless and must obey the government; without help they will fail); Fages to Croix, San Diego, July 17, 1771 (tells of arrival at San Diego; reports affairs there and plans for future); Fages to Croix, San Diego, July 18, 1771 (will proceed with founding new missions as soon as the pack train arrives); "Noticia" of the things made by Blacksmith Chacón at Monterey during June and July, 1771; Verger to Casafonda, August 3, 1771 (a long report on old and new missions, based on letters from the friars, and reports by two returned friars; he sends copies of letters by Palóu, Serra, Crespi, Ortega, and others; comments on Palóu, Serra, Crespi; *in re* Serra, he remarks, "it is necessary to moderate his ardent zeal somewhat"; summarizes Peninsular affairs; the soldier commissioners ruined the missions; the Monterey expeditions made still worse havoc; criticises Gálvez's work on the Peninsula; evidently he gets his ideas from Palóu; discusses *sínodos* of missionaries on Peninsula; the Monterey missions get ridiculously small support; Antigua California is ruined; supplies must come from Sonora; sets forth needs of new missions; more soldiers needed; hostility of the Indians on the land journeys); Croix to Arriaga, Mexico, August 26, 1771 (enclosing extracts of news from Monterey); Verger to Casafonda, Mexico, August 26, 1771; Verger to Casafonda, Mexico, August 26, 1771; extract of reports from San Diego and Monterey, Mexico, August 26, 1771; Phelipe Barry to Croix, Loreto, October 24, 1771 (reports letters received from Fages at San Diego, telling of arrival of pack train, desertion of the six soldiers in July; their return and pardon, etc.);

the Viceroy to Fages, Mexico, November 30, 1771 (take care to prevent desertions, and advise Father Serra of his obligation in the matter); Rafael Verger to Casafonda, 1771 (telling of Portolá's expedition, on basis of Crespi's diary, describing especially San Francisco Bay.

186 M. and D. here omit "de la Segunda Semana de Quaresma"; from the entry for March 22 they omit "Tercero de Quaresma"; and from that for March 29 they omit "4° de Quaresma."

187 In this diary, as in former chapters, M. and D. frequently change simple to more graceful phrasing, without essentially changing the meaning. Here they change "Salimos de este rio" to "abandanamos las deliciosos orillas del rio"; in the entry of March 22 pastures "muy buena y abundante" become "sobresaliente"; in the entry for the 25th the bay "que nos parecía a todos tendria" becomes a bay "pareciendo a la generalidad tendria a lo mas"; in the 27th the "port of San Blas" becomes the "beautiful port of San Blas"; in the 24th "grass" becomes "good grass."

188 D. changes "tierra" to "sierra."

189 D. changes "nordeste" to "norte."

190 The Figueroa MS. and M. read "Sena." Doyle corrected the reading to "Siena."

191 A species of lily. M. reads "sirios" and D. "Sitios."

192 M. and D. omit "Está en altura de como trienta y nueve grados de latitud del norte."

193 D. changes "nacimiento" to "camino."

194 M. and D. change "sursueste" to "sudeste."

195 The expedition here set forth in full in the diary (pp. 329–354) is given only a paragraph in Palóu's *Vida*, chapter XXX.

196 The events of this chapter are treated in the *Vida*, chapter XXX. In that chapter is reprinted a letter by Serra to Palóu, Mission San Carlos, August 18, 1772, in which he tells of his preparation to go with Fages to San Diego.

197 M. and D. omit "Derrotero del."

198 M. and D. omit "con el fin de traer á la buelta."

199 D. omits "los temporales."

200 Light is shed on affairs in Alta California in 1772 by the following unpublished documents: Croix to Fages, Mexico, March 18, 1772 (admonishing him to keep the peace with the friars, aid them, and treat the Indians well); Bucareli to Arriaga, Mexico, April 24, 1772 (promising to send reports on Sonora and California); same

to same, April 26, 1772 (encloses letters from San Blas reporting that supplies are ready to go to San Diego and Monterey); Fages to Croix, Monterey, June 26, 1772 (provisions are scarce; has sent soldiers to kill bears at Cañada de los Osos; they have killed about thirty); Fages to Croix, Monterey, June 27, 1772 (acknowledging his commission as captain); Verger to Bucareli, Mexico, July 22, 1772 (fourth report concerning the new missions of Alta California; a most interesting account of each mission made up from reports from California; gives an especially interesting report on San Gabriel; twenty-two numbered paragraphs); Bucareli to College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro, September 2, 1772 (on Sonora Missions); Trillo y Vermúdez, San Blas, September 18, 1772 (needs of San Blas); Bucareli to Fages, Mexico, October 14, 1772; Bucareli to Arriaga, Mexico, October 27, 1772 (concerning Anza's proposal to open route to California); Bucareli to Arriaga, Mexico, October 27, 1772 (sends latest news from California); Bucareli to Arriaga, Mexico, October 27, 1772 (reports shortage of provisions in California, and new efforts to verify discovery of San Francisco Bay); Verger to Bucareli, Mexico, November 12, 1772 (new plan for managing missions); Bucareli to Arriaga, Mexico, November 26, 1772 (latest news from Californias); Miguel del Pino, San Blas, November 30, 1772 (diary of voyage from San Blas to Monterey, November, 1771–November, 1772); Mariano Carrillo, Monterey, December 27, 1772 (report of "new conquest of Monterey"; a commentary on events and methods since the founding); Verger to Casafonda, Mexico, December 27, 1772 (report of the Fages-Crespi expedition to San Francisco Bay); Bucareli to Arriaga, Mexico, December 27, 1772 (latest news from Californias).

[201] In the *Vida*, chapter XXXII, Palóu tells of the founding of Mission San Luís Obispo, carrying its history down to the death of Serra.

[202] M. and D. omit "á San Diego."

[203] M. and D. change "utensilios de caja" to "recibiendo todos los ornamentos de casa."

[204] D. reads, "*ya* habia enviado en lugar del Padre Cambón," in place of "*yo* habia enviado," etc.

[205] M. and D. read "Presidente" for "Peña."

[206] D. reads "ninth" for "sixth."

[207] M. and D. add "de Santa Fé de estas."

[208] In the *Vida* Palóu recounts Serra's journey from San Luís Obispo to San Gabriel and San Diego, his decision to go to Mexico, and his voyage to San Blas.

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